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THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL *Meeting*

**LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER
DEPENDENT PEOPLES**

OCTOBER 18th, 19th and 20th, 1916

PUBLISHED BY THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN
AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1916

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1916

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THE PERMANENT CONFERENCE OFFICE

DANIEL SMILEY

H. C. PHILLIPS, *Secretary*
Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 18-20, 1916

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PREFACE

The first Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, was held in 1883, when Mr. Albert K. Smiley, a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, invited a number of persons to a meeting at Mohonk Lake to confer regarding the interests of the Indians. This was the first of a series of October conferences which have since been held annually. On the death of Mr. Smiley, in 1912, his brother, Mr. Daniel Smiley, succeeded him as host of the conferences.

Previous to 1904*, discussion was confined largely to Indian matters; that year, however, the scope of the Conference was definitely enlarged to include the peoples of the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and other insular dependencies of the United States. The Conference seeks to clarify public opinion on these great questions through free discussion by those having first-hand knowledge of existing conditions.

The thirty-fourth Conference was held in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, October 18, 19 and 20, 1916, on the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley who maintain a permanent office, in charge of the secretary, through which the annual conferences are arranged and a continuous correspondence conducted.

The management of the Conference, while providing opportunity for free discussion of matters not foreign to the purpose of the meeting, assumes no responsibility for individual opinions printed in this report.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference, and several thousand copies are mailed to individuals in public and private life, to libraries, and to other institutions. Distribution of current reports is free to the limit of the edition, and libraries and public institutions can obtain back numbers without charge except for transportation. Applications for reports, and other correspondence, should be addressed to the Secretary of the Conference.

* The name of the Conference was changed in 1904 to "Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples," which in 1914 became "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and other Dependent Peoples."

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PLATFORM

OF THE

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES, 1916

(The platform is the official utterance of the Conference and embodies only those principles on which the members unanimously agreed.—ED.)

The Thirty-fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples recommends that the number of hospitals for the Indian service be increased and urges improvement of sanitary conditions where they are at present seriously deficient, and further recommends an increase of the annual appropriation by Congress for the educational facilities among the Navajos. The Conference wishes also to set its approval upon the progress made in industrial and vocational education and in health conditions.

We heartily commend the work of the various Christian missionary bodies, which are now more than ever before exhibiting a higher degree of co-operation in meeting the spiritual needs and longings of the Indian.

The Conference deplores the fact that the continued uncertainty as to the legal status of the Indians of the State of New York causes serious injury to their industrial, intellectual and moral advancement and prevents the enforcement of the laws of the State relating to vice and crime, the public health and education. It is a matter of congratulation that an able investigation into this legal status has been recently made by a Deputy Attorney General of the State. We recommend that the results of this investigation be submitted to the Department of Justice of the National Government for its consideration and also that Congress be requested to pass a broad enabling act, under which the State of New York may enact all needful legislation for the improvement of these Indians and the benefit of the State. The Conference makes this specific recommendation because of the exceptional historic and legal situation of these Indians.

The ultimate solution of the perplexing Indian problem will be reached only when the Indians by an academic, industrial and moral education have been prepared to receive all the privileges and assume all the duties of American Citizenship. Until that time such Indians as are not so prepared are the wards of the Nation. The Nation is in duty bound to protect their rights, pro-

mote their interests, and provide for their education. Experience has proved that it is fulfilled very imperfectly and under great disadvantages by special legislation enacted to meet special exigencies and administered by a Bureau whose head changes with every change in the national administration. A permanent, stable, and developing policy is essential. We therefore urge the creation of a non-partisan, independent commission, permanent in its character, which should make a careful examination of the mass of Indian legislation on our statute books, much of it local and fragmentary, and from it develop an Indian law, general in its provisions, comprehensive in its policy, forward-looking in its purpose. Such law, when enacted by the Congress, should take the place of all existing legislation except permanent treaties, and thereafter the administration of this law and the application of its principles to the varying conditions of the various tribes should be left by the Congress to the commission, to which should be committed the entire charge of the Indian service. We urge this plan, not only to secure greater economy and efficiency but also to promote a consistent, continuing and developing policy—a need recognized as of the utmost importance by all workers in the Indian service. The ultimate object of this policy should be to bring the present abnormal condition of the Indian to an end as speedily as possible by the incorporation of the Indian in the general citizenship of the Nation.

Until the reorganization of the work for the Indian upon the principles above outlined, we deprecate as unwise and dangerous legislation which will remove all authority respecting our Western Indians from the control and supervision of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The policy of all Indian administration should include at the earliest possible date the segregation and individualization of Indian tribal property, in order that competent Indians may have available immediately all resources to which they are entitled and that they may be completely severed from the guardianship of the Government.

We urge that immediate steps be taken by the enactment of new legislation or otherwise, further to protect all incompetent Indians, especially the full bloods, in order that their property rights may be conserved and their resources expended for their benefit under proper supervision, looking to the correction of the flagrant abuses now rampant as particularly brought to our attention as existing among the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osages.

During the present year a larger measure of autonomous government has been granted the Filipino people by act of Congress, giving to them greater control over their internal affairs.

It is self-evident that so long as the Philippine Islands remain under the sovereignty of the United States, the government of

the United States must continue to be responsible for good government and efficient and economical administration in the islands. It is equally clear that the wise exercise of authority must go hand in hand with such responsibility.

The effect of the rapid withdrawal of American administrators, in anticipation of, and coincident with, this legislation, will be watched with unusual interest but not without misgiving. We believe that the policy of dispensing with the services of trained experts and scientists will have a far-reaching and harmful effect upon the sanitary, social and economic life of the islands.

We therefore urge that these necessary aids to the welfare of the people of the islands be not abandoned.

We reaffirm the recommendation of the Conference of last year that an immediate grant of full American citizenship be made to the people of Porto Rico.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

First Session

Wednesday, October 18th, 1916

The conference was called to order at 9.45 A. M. by MR. DANIEL SMILEY, who, in greeting the Conference, said:

OPENING REMARKS BY MR. DANIEL SMILEY

Cheered and encouraged by the memory of conferences for a third of a century now behind us and with eager hopes for those yet to come, Mrs. Smiley and I welcome you all as friends and fellow workers to the Thirty-fourth Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples.

We wish also again to express our deep appreciation and thanks for the choralcelo, your gift, which has given so great pleasure to us and to thousands of visitors who have enjoyed it during the past year.

While the problems now before us may be different, they are probably no less important to the welfare of other races and peoples than those we have, in the past, had a part in bringing to a happy issue. When the present ills are gone, others will, past all doubt, arise. It remains for us then to frankly face what we now see of wrong, and, on the broad issue of helpfulness to others, courageously say the words which need to be said and do the things which need to be done. With this hope, men are invited to speak in this Conference. There are now here those who really know the actual situation and the actual conditions. It is hoped that they will speak with the utmost frankness of things as they know them to be, without reference to what those of us who listen may have hoped or wished or believed. It is only from known facts that we can work toward a betterment in any case. It has seldom occurred, in the history of these conferences, that there has been so large a proportion of men, and women as well, who have come with first-hand knowledge and experience of matters under discussion. We confidently hope from them for the accurate information so much needed by those of us who must abide at home.

Feeling confident of your hearty approval, I can most cheer-

fully announce, as our presiding officer for a second time, that distinguished Massachusetts member of our Board of Indian Commissioners, HON. SAMUEL A. ELIOT. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY HON. SAMUEL A. ELIOT

Mr. Smiley, it is with some hesitation, not to say reluctance, that I again obey your summons. There are many distinguished men in this company more worthy to discharge these functions and bear these responsibilities; but your invitation is always a command, and the members of the Conference know that at least they can depend upon me for good cheer, good nature and a reasonable firmness. (Laughter.)

The thirty-fourth Lake Mohonk Conference is now in session, and your first business is to hear the announcement of the committees. DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE, Secretary of the Business Committee, will present the list to us.

DR. MESERVE announced the officers of the Conference, a list of whom will be found on page 2.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your next business is the report of your Treasurer, MR. WILLIAM L. BROWN, of Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER, MR. WILLIAM L. BROWN

Before proceeding with the official report, it is usually necessary to say a word or two in explanation of why there needs to be a Treasurer, because usually there are many people here who have not heard, and who might wonder why there was such a need when everything here was so kindly and generously provided for us. The purpose of the treasury is for publicity. The report of the discussions and information heard here is printed in a publication of about 5,000 numbers and this is sent to public libraries, to every member of the Conference, and to a large free list. For this purpose we have to raise from \$1,000 to \$1,200. The only solicitation is from the floor of the conference, but we all feel that this is an obligation which rests fairly upon us; it is the only return we are able to make for all the benefits and hospitalities that we receive here.

Mr. Brown then presented for the year just closed a detailed report showing receipts of \$914.93, disbursements amounting to \$839.65, leaving a balance of \$75.28.

THE CHAIRMAN: This morning I noticed we had an extraordinary illustration of the gracious tolerance of our hosts. We began with a Puritan hymn; we had a Puritan prayer, and now a

son of the Puritans for eight generations is summoned to preside. Now, our forbears, Dr. Abbott, did not treat Quakers very well in old times; (Laughter.) and yet in our morning worship, led by a Quaker, we have all been Puritans. I emphasize this because it is illustrative of the spirit of Mohonk. Mr. Smiley has urged us here to use perfect freedom of speech, and to present our different, and perhaps opposing, convictions, with complete frankness and candor. That is just what we want, just what we expect, just what we have experienced in past years. Here we desire the expression of frank antagonisms for we know that the only real unity comes out of such-expression. I recall a figure of speech that one of my colleagues used the other day in describing the experience of persons of different traditions or inheritances or ecclesiastical or political convictions; he described them as different parties of people who, without knowing it, are really all climbing the same hilltop from different sides. Down on the lower levels they are widely separated, unaware of each others existence, struggling through the thick undergrowth; but as they climb, such people must inevitably get nearer together; they get out of the underbrush on to the open ledges where they can see one another, cheer one another on, and when they reach the top, then they all have to stand in the same place and there is only one view, but that is the view all around. Now that is the kind of experience that we go through when we come up to this hilltop and we discover that real unity is to be found, not through intellectual consents but rather in spiritual ascents. It is on the high places that we discover our real and fundamental unity of spirit; that is the atmosphere into which we come here, the atmosphere in which we find the refreshment and the inspiration of this place.

Now I am not going to make a formal Chairman's speech today about the special subject for our morning consideration, partly because I said almost all that I know last year, and partly because those who are on your program are much more expert in these matters than I am. I cannot, however, claim to be in any degree neutral about these matters; that does not run in my blood; where I have any right to an opinion, I hold it firmly and like to express it and the Conference is aware that I occasionally exercise a certain audacity of interruption. (Laughter.)

We are to consider this morning the Present-day Needs of Indian Administration. The first address has a mighty attractive sound to me. We are a little too used to stagnation and to deadly routine in matters of Indian Administration. We have got all tied up with red tape more than once, and when we hear that there is something "new and epoch-making" in Indian education, we are filled with glad anticipation. There is no one who knows so much about that subject as our friend MR. H. B. PEAIRS, Supervisor of Indian Schools, who will now address you. (Applause.)

SOMETHING NEW AND EPOCH-MAKING IN INDIAN
EDUCATION

ADDRESS BY MR. H. B. PEAIRS

After the way this subject has been announced, I think I should make just a little explanation. There really is very little that is new in this age and I do not expect to give you anything that is in itself new, but possibly I may be able to point out some new applications and organizations of materials which we have been using.

If I understand the purpose and spirit of the Mohonk Conference, it is an annual coming together of a group of intelligent, big-hearted men and women, whose one thought is the most beautiful in life—unselfish service—service to those who need encouragement, guidance, protection; service without expectation of reward except as they may have the privilege of seeing the dependent races and individuals become strong, independent and able to stand alone.

It is impossible to measure the results of the work and influence of the conferences that have met through the years that have come and gone, but certain it is that each session has left its impress somewhere, somehow, and has helped to steady the minds, hands, and hearts of those who have been more actively and intimately connected with the problems of converting a dependent race into an independent one.

As one of the latter class, I want to take this opportunity to say that counsel, encouragement, and good-will of individual members of this group of God-fearing men and women have often been the light that has cheered me on to a brighter day. Not that I have ever for one moment lost faith in the Indian or in the final outcome of the investment of money, time, and labor, for the development of the race but I confess that as I look back over the three decades of my term of service, there have been many causes for discouragement. It is not wise to live in the past except as an occasional glance back may help make more rapid progress in the future: therefore, I shall mention but one of the discouragements of the past; namely, the lack of anything like permanency of policies in the Indian Service. I believe this to have been the greatest cause of retardation. At one time we have gone like a whirlwind in one direction; at another we have been called upon to retrace our steps and start on a new road. Again we have been compelled to mark time while new recruits have been drilling and getting ready to command. O, for a period when we may go steadily on to the goal for which we are all striving! If I were to presume to make one suggestion concerning this session of the Mohonk Conference, it would be to express the hope that the impress left this

time would be in the interest of greater permanency of policy in the Service.

But what has this to do with the subject which I am asked to discuss at this time? Indeed, it might mean the difference between failure and success in carrying through an educational program, which is in the judgment of those who are in close touch with it, the farthest reaching of any undertaking ever outlined in connection with the Indian Service.

More than six years ago, when the speaker was called upon to take charge of the educational work of the Indian Service, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Valentine, said, "What is your program?" The reply was, "The first step would seem to be to make a complete survey of the field and to take an educational inventory and thus obtain a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the work to be done and the stock on hand and required to accomplish it. The suggestion was thought to be wise and the necessary force of supervisors to do the work was promptly provided. During 1910 and 1911 a most careful and thorough study of every portion of the Indian country was completed and thus a good beginning was made in what promised to become a definite and permanent forward movement in Indian education.

About that time circumstances arose which delayed any further advances. Finally changes were made which resulted in almost entirely destroying even the foundations that had been laid. However, a stand was taken in the trenches and in spite of the use of all kinds of implements of warfare, including poisonous gases, the foundations were saved and kept in readiness to build upon. Finally a new commanding officer came upon the field of action, inspected the ruins, dug deep until he discovered men and materials worthy of retention, when he began to use them. It was dangerous business working among the tottering ruins, and the General wisely went cautiously forward, but gradually the worthless and dangerous elements were eliminated and the campaign widened, extended, and became more aggressive. After an attack on an army of conscienceless guardians, a sudden but well planned campaign was hurled against the entire host of liquor outlaws. And then the well entrenched and ever spreading company of diseases, carrying suffering and death throughout all parts of the Indian country were attacked with tremendous vigor and determination. Of this particular campaign you will hear from one of the most successful participants.

Next came a rallying of the forces whose business it is to destroy idleness and to encourage industry. They have been and are fighting a winning battle.

During all of this time those engaged in the warfare against the worst enemy of all, ignorance, were quietly and determinedly trying to hold their ground, waiting for a command to make an

advance. In due time the commanding office reached the educational portion of the field. Having already become skilled through action on other fields he immediately gave the command to advance. Never was a call to service more willingly obeyed. Everyone enlisted in the cause was ready and anxiously waiting for the opportunity. The need of a more aggressive educational campaign had long been recognized. My earnest hope is that this campaign may be undisturbed until it has been carried through to its well planned and logical conclusion.

To this end the influence of the Mohonk Conference is solicited. In making this appeal it is necessary that you should understand the educational program as set forth in the new course of study, which has been prepared and introduced in all Indian schools during the last year, and which I shall now, as briefly as possible describe.

Mr. Betts in his new ideals in Rural Schools says: "To understand the problem of any school or system of schools, it is first necessary to know the character of the people, their industries, their economic status, their needs, their standards of living, their social life. The special problem of any type of school grows out of the nature and needs of the community which supports the school. The latest definition of education suggests that it must relate itself immediately and concretely to the business of living. Each type of school must suit its curriculum, its organization and its instruction, to the demands to be met by its pupils."

It is an extremely difficult task to prepare a course of study that will be suitable for all Indian schools because of the fact that Indians are distributed throughout the United States and live under varied climatic conditions. They are engaged in many different industries; they are in some cases well-to-do and in others extremely poor; and they have many and various standards of living according to their present status. However difficult it may be it is necessary, because approximately fifty per cent of the total Indian school population live where public school privileges are not yet available and, further, live where conditions are such as to demand a somewhat different type of school for the present. Without going into an exhaustive study of the present status of Indians, a few of the conditions which the Committee on Course of Study considered basic are briefly mentioned in connection with a discussion of the development of the principal features of the course.

First: While many Indians now use English, as a race they are a non-English speaking people. As English is the key that unlocks the door to almost all sources of knowledge in this country, great emphasis is placed on the teaching of this subject throughout the entire course. Further, the citizens of this nation must be English speaking people. They must not only be able to speak

English but they must be capable of thinking in English to enable them to clearly understand and fully appreciate the institutions of the United States of America. It is unnecessary to say that the history of the world that is now being made and recorded suggests the wisdom of making sure that every citizen of our country shall be able to understand and appreciate the duties, responsibilities and blessings of a democracy. In the primary grades English is the center around which all other subjects are made to group.

Second: In his native state the Indian led an active life in the great out of doors. He lived close to nature and developed great physical endurance and bodily vigor. With the coming of the white man the Indian was forced gradually to change both his occupation and his mode of living. Without a knowledge of the laws of health and sanitation or the capacity to adjust himself properly to his new type of home, many tribes of Indians have gradually degenerated physically until today we find confronting us the great problem of restoring health. While much can be done and is being done by the medical force outside or school along this line, the best and farthest reaching work can be done, perhaps, through the medium of the schools.

The course of study contemplates the emphasizing in the schools of all subjects relating to health and sanitation. It aims to prepare students to return to their homes with very definite, practical ideas and with fixed habits as to correct living and good health. In this connection it should be said that a very definite and regular course in physical training, adapted to the needs of all pupils and not only to the few who are athletically inclined, is given a fixed time and place in every day's program.

The great value of physical training is now being recognized in the public schools throughout the world as it was recognized early by the Germans, when in 1796 a German author said—"Gymnastic sports are possessed of something so grand, are so heart cheering, have such power of influencing national thought, to lead and guide the nation, to influence the people with patriotism, have such power to develop their sense of justice, to raise their standard of virtue, and to diffuse among the lowliest classes a certain degree of culture, that I do not hesitate to declare them one of the nation's best means of education." Applying this to the Indian, physical training certainly should be given a definite place in his educational program.

Third: If the Indian race is to be saved the individual members thereof must rapidly break loose from the slavery of a dependent life and become self-supporting, productive, taxpaying, independent citizens. I hope I may live to see the day when the Mohonk Conference may not need to include the Indians among

the dependent races. If such a day is to be realized, it must come through the practical education of the youth of the race.

The splendid work that is being done along health lines, the vigorous, widespread, industrial program that is being carried on among the adult Indians, and the unrelenting campaign that is being waged to destroy the liquor traffic in all Indian country, are all worthy of unqualified commendation, but these are in a large degree temporary, negative campaigns being carried on to eradicate diseases and for protection against habits of idleness and appetite rather than to prevent the development of such conditions. I am sure you will all agree with me when I say that while these temporary relief measures are necessary and commendable an aggressive educational program which will include every Indian child of the nation, and which will be positive and preventive rather than largely negative and curative, as is the work among the adults, is tremendously more important.

The educational program for Indians has been gradually developed and improved, and, I do not hesitate to say, has at least kept pace with the progress that has been made in the public schools; but the demands upon young people everywhere nowadays are such that educators and others interested in human welfare are realizing as never before the need for a more practical kind of education. These conditions all suggest the necessity of attacking the problem of educating the Indian youth in a very direct way. The Committee therefore, agreed, that next to the task of converting the race into an English thinking and speaking people, the rapid improvement of their homes should be provided for.

There are a great many types of Indian homes, and while there has been improvement in the homes of many families during recent years, the large majority of Indians are still living in habitations of a very poor type. In fact the character of the average home of the uneducated Indian is such that the standards of living are very low and unsatisfactory indeed. Such homes are poor places to raise children, or for young people to return after they have been in school for a term of years and have learned the necessity of cleanliness and the observance of the laws of health. For various reasons the improvement of home conditions on the reservations has not kept pace at all with the demand for better homes which has come about through the return of students from school. Part of the failure in this respect may be placed and should be placed at the doors of the schools. The young people should not be expected to carry the entire responsibility of changing home conditions in a generation, but they must be prepared to do their part as time goes on.

Realizing the urgent necessity of the early improvement of their homes it was determined to radically break away from the well trodden educational paths through the fourth, fifth, and

sixth grades, which is the period during which so many of the children become restless and dissatisfied and drop out of school, and to make an attempt to outline a course which would not only be more interesting and attractive than the usual course, but would at the same time be eminently practical. In doing this the culture value of education is not neglected but rather subordinated to the practical needs of the child's environment. As the Indians, generally speaking, are a rural people and as experience has proved that the great majority of children do not continue in school long enough to complete more than six grades, great stress is put on agriculture and homemaking during this period and the character and amount of academic work is determined by its relative value and importance as a means of solution of the problems of the farmer and housewife. The course for these years is so different from the ordinary course that I shall run the risk of tiring you by going into the details of it briefly.

This is not an elective course but every pupil is required to take it. In addition to the essentials of the usual academic subjects all girls are required to take at least ten weeks' practice in house-keeping and thirty minutes' instruction daily in all matters pertaining to home-training. Special emphasis is placed on motherhood and child welfare. A forty weeks' course in cooking, one and one-half hour per week of formal instruction and twenty-two and one-half hours of practice. A thirty weeks' course in sewing, one and one-half hours per week of instruction and twenty-two and one-half hours of practice. A fifteen weeks' course in laundering, one and one-half hours per week of instruction and twenty-two and one-half hours of practice. A five weeks' course in poultry raising, one and one-half hours per week, of instruction, and twenty-two and one-half hours of practice, and five weeks of home nursing. The boys are all required to take ten weeks of gardening, ten weeks of dairying, forty weeks of general farming, fifteen weeks of farm carpentry, ten weeks of farm blacksmithing, five weeks of farm painting, and five weeks of shoe and harness repairing, one and one-half hours weekly being devoted to formal instruction and twenty-two and one-half hours to practice. In addition to obtaining the great fund of knowledge and a necessary amount of skill to enable them to meet the demands of farm life, this is the period when the boys and girls, through trying out their capacities are finding that activity to which it is thought best to apply themselves definitely in the next, the vocational period which extends through the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th years, and during which period each one must follow the particular course which he, with the aid of a vocational guidance committee, has decided upon at the close of the prevocational period.

Fourth: Because every year brings the Indian into more intimate contact and into keener competition with his neighbors of

other nationalities, the Committee believed that the course should be extended and broadened somewhat, therefore a full four years' vocational course was outlined. Agriculture and Home Economics were made the leading courses during this period. But as it was realized that all Indians will not choose farm life as their permanent vocation any more than do all young people of other races, courses are offered in blacksmithing, carpentry, painting, plumbing, engineering, masonry, including cement, brick, stone, and plastering, and in printing, because these trades offer excellent opportunities for the employment of trained Indian mechanics. Competition today among men is keener than ever before. Only he will win in the fierce contest whose mind has been most carefully developed and whose hand has been most skilfully trained to do efficient work. We are at the morning of a day when special training and thorough preparation on the part of each individual for the work he is to do in life will be an absolute necessity.

He who is without special preparation and training in the future will be servant and menial, who must do the tasks that others pass by, who will be crowded down by the stronger man, the masters. For him who prepares there is opportunity; this applies to all peoples, in fact to all individuals of whatever color or nationality, Indians included.

Probably the weakest point in Indian character is the lack of initiative and an unwillingness to assume responsibility. I do not believe this is a native weakness but rather that it has developed as a result of enforced dependent living; nevertheless it is a present weakness and unfortunately the organization of the government schools has tended to continue the weakness rather than to overcome it. Recognizing this the Committee so planned the work of the fourth year of the vocational period as to require the students to act as foremen and instructors, the purpose being to develop initiative and responsibility.

Briefly summarizing, the course of study is divided into three divisions, primary, prevocational and vocational. The primary includes the first three grades, the prevocational the next three and the vocational contemplates a four-year course above the sixth grade.

The first or *primary division* is the *beginning state* and emphasizes English, health, and *manners and right conduct*. The second or *prevocational division* is the *finding stage* and places the importance upon the obtaining of knowledge, both academic and industrial, which is intimately and concretely related to *home-making and home-keeping*.

From the beginning of the primary work to this point the course parallels the public school courses in the *essentials* of the academic work. This is desirable because so many Indian children are going into public schools every year. Another very important

feature of the work of the prevocational division is that of helping each pupil to discover himself and to determine upon the course to pursue during the remainder of his years in school. This responsibility is placed upon a vocational guidance committee which is provided for in every school where prevocational grades are maintained.

The third or vocational division is the *fitting* stage wherein each pupil having chosen a definite vocation studies and trains for skill in order that he may be prepared, technically and practically to meet the competition of life, and that he may be a self-supporting, independent citizen.

The term of school life for a great majority of Indian youths is at best very short, therefore it was deemed of special importance that some steps be taken and some plan formulated to extend educational opportunities beyond the days of actual school life. As a beginning of a program looking to the establishment of regular extension courses for Indian young people who have been compelled to leave school with a very limited education, the committee recommended that community meetings be held frequently at all schools which have an adult Indian population accessible or tributary thereto. These meetings should be made bases and centers of influence for all of the activities and interests of the community, or they should help to create healthy and proper public sentiment toward such activities.

In connection with community meetings, some forms of extension work might be undertaken, especially with the returned student. The returned student organization should offer a peculiarly valuable medium for such work.

The ex-student represents one of the direct returns upon the investment which the government has made in Indian education. It is an investment which should be developed to the fullest extent, and its development has but begun when the student goes home from school. Then, if ever, the student needs friendly interest, wise counsel, and sympathetic support to hold him to his highest ideals and possibilities.

Another fact taken into consideration in preparing the course was the undeniable one that eventually, and soon in many instances, Indians will become full-fledged citizens and will be compelled to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship as well as to be permitted to accept the privileges. Under these circumstances they should be intelligent in all matters pertaining to citizenship. With this in mind the subjects of Manners and Right Conduct, and of Civics were introduced in the primary grades and continued throughout the entire course. The primary course in Civics is certainly new and unique.

Many other features of the course of study are worthy of men-

tion but I must hasten to tell you of the thoroughness of the plan for its introduction.

It was thought best to have the course introduced and tried out in the schools throughout the country before having it published in permanent form, therefore a tentative edition was printed and gotten ready for introduction on February 1, 1916. To aid in the introduction of the course the entire Indian country was divided into twenty-one (21) districts, and an equal number of experienced superintendents, one from each district, were chosen to visit the schools and assist the local superintendents and workers in the introduction of the course. In order that these supervising superintendents might be better qualified for their special assignment, they were brought to Washington and spent an entire week in conference, familiarizing themselves with the aims and purposes, and all of the details of the course. Three sessions were held each day and every feature of the course was discussed. Previous to and during these conferences copies of the Course of Study were submitted to leading educators of the country for criticisms and suggestions. A number of educators of national reputation were invited to participate in the conferences. Such criticisms, suggestions and conferences were very helpful and resulted in being able to offer a course to Indian schools which had the endorsement of leading educators from all grades and classes of schools and from all sections of the country. On February 1, 1916, the course was introduced in all Indian schools throughout the United States. It was cordially received everywhere as the need of a standard and uniform course had long been felt. The supervising superintendents visited all of the schools once or twice between February 1st and the end of the term in June and rendered much valuable assistance in the introduction of the course.

As a further means of perfecting the Course of Study and aiding in its introduction a series of six summer Institutes, lasting two weeks each, were planned and held during the months of June, July and August. One of the principal purposes of the Institutes was to familiarize the officers and employees of the entire Service with the new Course of Study and thus insure its intelligent and complete installation at the beginning of the fall term of the fiscal year, 1917. The Institutes were held at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Sherman Institute, Riverside, California; Salem Indian School, Chemawa, Oregon; Tomah, Wisconsin, and Rapid City, South Dakota. The superintendents of all of the schools of the United States, except ten were present. The total attendance was approximately 1,600. Those present represented all departments of Indian schools, industrial as well as academic and also all phases of reservation work. In addition to a varied program of regular class instruction in which English, Agriculture, Home Economics, and Health were emphasize-

ed, daily group conferences were held at which all of the details of the Course of Study were thoroughly discussed. General conferences were also held and the aims and purposes of the course, as well as ways and means of organizing the schools to meet its requirements were fully discussed. With the attendance at these Institutes being equal to one-half of the entire Indian school employee force, or to one-fourth of the whole number employed in the Indian Service, the aims and purposes, not only of the new Course of Study, but of the many and varied problems of the Indian Bureau are undoubtedly better understood and more keenly appreciated than ever before and thus indirectly the preparation and introduction of the new Course of Study has become a means of vitalizing and unifying the work of the entire Service.

Definite plans have already been made for the complete installation of the course in every school of the Service during the coming year. Some revision of the course will be made during the year and undoubtedly will be thought advisable from time to time in the future, but as a whole it has been found to be very practical and comprehensive.

It is believed that the preparation and introduction of the New Vocational Course of Study marks an epoch in Indian education and, through the emphasis of vocational education and training, the beginning of a new era in Indian life and accomplishment. (Applause.)

Before closing I want to say that ever since the new commanding officer, Mr. Sells, came upon the educational portion of the Indian country he has been such a leader that all in the ranks have been advancing with great courage and hope. Commissioner Sells' unbounded enthusiasm and unyielding faith in the Indian is contagious and is far spreading. (Applause.)

Before I leave the floor, I want to give one or two interesting pieces of information with reference to the present attendance of Indian children; one which I think will be rather startling to you and should mean a great deal in this program of Indian education, is that in 1910, according to the best statistics we had, there were fewer than 5,000 Indian children in the public schools. The statistics for the fiscal year 1916, which have just been completed, show that there were in public schools during the last year, 29,463 Indian children. (Applause.) During the fiscal year 1915, there were 26,438. Thus it may be seen that we made a gain of 2,025 during the fiscal year 1916. I mention this because in the preparation of a new course of study, we do not lose sight of the fact that the way out is through the public schools, therefore we are making every possible effort to increase the attendance in the public schools each year. The present appropriation bill carries an item of \$200,000 which may be used in paying tuition for Indian children who attend public schools and whose parents are non-tax-

paying people, so that while we believe it is a positive necessity to have a uniform course of study, emphasizing the vocational side for those Indian children who are not yet within reach of the public schools and who cannot be for some time, we do feel that it is the best policy to keep urging the enrollment of Indian children in the public schools. The figures which I have given you show you that great progress is being made in that direction. (Applause.)

SOME HANDICAPS IN INDIAN EDUCATION AND ADMINISTRATION

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDING OFFICER, HON. SAMUEL A. ELIOT

As I did not take any undue time at the opening of our session, I am moved to say just a word about my observations on the introduction of the new curriculum in the schools. I spent a month in the schools in Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska just as the new scheme was coming in. On the whole, it is the best program of secondary education, that has been set forth in this country, and if it could be completely carried out, we should have a scheme of education in the Indian schools which would commend itself to all intelligent parents. It gives opportunity for the kind of training that I want my own youngsters to have. Poor boys, they have to spend hours, weeks, nowadays in doing useless sums in arithmetic and in that kind of geography study which consists in learning the names of capes and bays, which is purely memory work.

The training of the senses is neglected in the colleges and schools for the children of the well-to-do. The Indian boys and girls are going to get a better chance than our own boys and girls.

I went last February to Haskell Institute, to Chilocco and Genoa. In those large boarding schools there is a teaching force and an equipment which makes the new course practical. But how about the small school? It hasn't the facilities, it hasn't the teaching force. The small school still has a difficult problem to face in the application and adaptation of this admirable new program. Then there are some other matters that still need serious attention. This excellent program is not completed until first we have a suitable school plant. Now the big school again has as a rule, an admirable set of buildings—not always; sometimes these Indian schools are in old, abandoned military posts, in dilapidated, rotten wooden barracks. Some of our best schools are thus housed. Our hospitals are, as a rule, places of good sanitation; ought not a school to be equally sanitary? A hospital, after all, is only a place to cure folks; a school is a place of preventive medicine, so that people won't have to be cured, and it ought to be just as clean, just as well ventilated, as any hospital. Our plant lags sadly behind our curriculum.

Then let us recognize that a scheme of education is not everything; you have got to have teachers who can apply it. Now, the weak point in Indian education today is the restlessness and often the incompetency of the teaching force. In my observation there is a large amount of fidelity, of industry, of real passionate desire for service in the teaching force of the Indian schools, but there is a deplorable lack of training. Merely to have learned a thing out of a text book and to have passed a civil service examination does not make a teacher. How shall we secure efficient teachers? First, by providing the facilities for normal training for this specific kind of teaching, the teaching of Indian children. Second, by providing reasonable salaries; we cannot get the right teachers in the Indian Service today because the pay is so low. Third, by decent accommodations. The great lack of our plants, the supreme lack is the neglect of the housing of the employees. This new curriculum fits the need of the Indian children. Yes; but don't forget the white folks who have got to teach them and to live with them. Why, in every school that I've visited, with, I think, the exception of Carlisle and Chilocco, there are married white employees with families living in one room in the dormitories. A supply of independent cottages for the white help is one of the first and paramount needs of the Indian Service today. And finally, in securing competent teachers, we need a pension system. When a man or woman devotes himself or herself to this difficult, lonely service, he ought to be assured not only of a living income and a decent house to live in, but of a retiring allowance after long and faithful service.

One other thing I want to mention. If we are going to have this new system successfully worked out we must give more power for the superintendent. We have, on the whole, a remarkably good set of men now in the higher offices of the Indian Service, but they are fearfully handicapped, tied, as I said at the beginning, all tied up with red tape. They have been given a little more freedom this year. No longer do they have to telegraph to Washington for authority to buy a rake. They are now given power to make purchases up to, I think, \$500 for necessary equipment, without getting authority from Washington. Why, I have sat in the office of an Indian superintendent who wanted some piece of machinery for his school farm, and he has opened a letter from the office of Washington, and he said "Here it is February; I put in the application for permission to buy that piece of machinery last July. We needed it for our fall work. It has just come." That is the kind of difficulty which has confronted the superintendent. He has, you remember, no right to choose his teaching staff, his employee staff; he must take the people that are sent him. The superintendent must work with people not of his own selection, but given him by others. He hasn't enough magisterial power.

I wonder if the members of the Conference appreciate the fact that all petty crimes must go unpunished on Indian reservations which have been opened. The United States courts take cognizance only of major crimes. There is no court in which petty crimes can be tried, and the superintendent has no real power to enforce law and order.

Trust these men. See to it that larger responsibility is laid upon them and larger authority given to them. If these things can be done—better buildings, cleaner buildings, better teachers, more authority to superintendents—then I believe we can look forward with confidence to the success of one of the best schemes of secondary education that has ever been set before the American people. (Applause.)

In speaking just now of the lack of magisterial authority on the part of the superintendent on the reservation, I may have been misapprehended. What I said is true of the open reservations. On the closed reservations there is a court for minor offenses, but the function of the court has never been really adequately defined.

The next speaker is DR. ALES HRDLICKA, Curator of the Division of Anthropology, United States National Museum, who has for seventeen years given attention to the working of the Indian Service, and brings to that observation the habits of a man of science, of a man who looks first, that is, for facts, and then has the capacity to draw just inferences from the facts. We shall be glad to hear the testimony of Dr. Hrdlicka. (Applause.)

THE INDIAN SERVICE

ADDRESS BY DR. ALES HRDLICKA

What I shall have to say will be largely a repetition, or may seem to you a repetition, of what has been said so much more ably by the previous speakers. I shall, however, in some respects perhaps, touch more the bedrock of conditions. I shall leave theories and ideals aside and refer to some of the bare facts as they are.

The broad title of my communication is "The Indian Service." Indian service can perhaps be most simply defined as that function of the American body-politic which deals with the Indian and the ultimate object of which is his complete emancipation. The Service is large and complex; but on analysis it is found to consist of three main lines of activities, leaving out the "political" which can be more readily approached for discussion. They are the economical, educational and medical; and I shall confine my attention to parts of the educational and medical aspects of the Service. I intend to approach the consideration of these not in a sense of hypercriticism, but as one who though outside of the Service, has for over seventeen years now been in close touch with the Indian

as anthropologist and physician; as one who on the reservations, in the Indian schools and especially in the Indian homes, has personally seen conditions as they actually exist; and as one who has both a sympathetic appreciation of the activities of the Service in the past and present, with strong hopes of its success in the future. If some faults or defects will nevertheless be brought to your notice, it will be only with the purpose of laying them before a body of men and women who are able to assist in their correction.

The Indian Service has changed much since its establishment, has changed considerably within my own time. It used to be, in the main, administrative and restrictive; it grew to be paternal, or, as a European would say, bureau-cratic; it is now crystallizing, under able and earnest administrators, into what may be called democratic and efficient in the modern sense of the world. But the Service has not evolved equally in all directions. It has been retarded, it seems, especially in its most important duty and activity, that of education. As I said before, I am not here to indulge in criticism; conditions are doubtless as they are largely because it was not yet possible to make them different; but it may not be amiss to point out on the occasion of such a gathering as this, some of the imperfections that call for a speedy improvement. And I shall come at once to the root of the matter. The salaries of the Indian teacher range to-day from \$600 to \$1000. A large majority receive \$600, the total average being, I understand only about \$660. Now, consider the requirements of the Service, the isolation, the not infrequently trying environment and poor accommodations, the nature of the work, with poor prospects of advancement, with no reward for long and good service, and tell then what can one expect in the way of the teaching personnel, under these conditions. Six hundred dollars a year means fifty dollars a month—less than the wages of some of our negro laborers. Is it not a wonder that, notwithstanding, there are actually many good people in the Indian Service?

But there are also many mediocre, many poor. In many instances it is impossible to obtain an able person on the prospects and the place is filled with those who are not well fit. Even among the best few if any are happy in their position or enthusiastic in the exacting work. In place of that there is often restlessness, soreness, loss of ambition—and you can appreciate what that must mean in a teacher. In consequence that which should be the most powerful agency for a speedy and true civilization of the Indian suffers from degradation.

The Indian teacher ought to be superior mentally and even in physical strength to the average teacher among ourselves, for she needs more judgment, patience, devotion; she needs well rounded knowledge, and teaching experience; she needs some knowledge of and interest in the Indian; and still further, she ought to

have a good knowledge of practical hygiene, for if she could inculcate, by teaching and example, the principles of this among her pupils, she would help most materially in the progress of the race. But such teachers will not be found for \$600 a year. Give them \$1,000 or \$1,200 a year, as we give to many a clerk, and then you may raise the requirements to what they should be. Until that is done, the educational branch of the Service will lag and must include many who are sub-competent, and cannot but fall far short of what it should accomplish. The civilization of the Indian will continue to be a prolonged and slow process, and the Indian Service will be somewhat of a sick man, notwithstanding its possible other effectiveness.

The time obliges me now to approach my second subject, which is the medical branch of the Service. I shall not trouble you with recounting many of the bad conditions that used to exist; suffice it to say that as late as 1908, when I had the honor to do the pioneer piece of investigation in this field that is embodied in Bulletin 42 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and that started the reforms in the medical service, there existed as yet not one hospital in the Indian Service, or at least not a hospital that would deserve the name; that whole tribes were becoming infected with tuberculosis; that consumptive employees were being sent on some of the reservations for recovery, still further infecting the natives; and that frequently a physician in the service, if he wanted some newer drug for a case, and in some instances even vaccine, had to pay for it out of his own pocket. The very important educational capacities of the medical branch were not appreciated and lay dormant, and the whole Service was on a low level.

Since 1908, matters have changed greatly for the better. To-day, I am happy to state there are eighty-three hospitals, of which nine are sanatoria, for the tuberculous. Besides this, there are eighty-four field matrons under efficient supervision and direction, who are assisting the work of the hospital and the doctors. The number of physicians has increased, their qualifications are higher. Since 1909 there have been appointed, besides, in the Indian Service, seven regular dentists and six special physicians for eye diseases, who are now branching out into ear, throat and nose disorders. There has been effected an approach to a central medical staff, which consists at present of one Chief of the Health Service, one Medical Supervisor, one Special Supervisor and one Assistant Medical Supervisor.

Nevertheless, with all the above, there is still much to be done, and the greatest obstacle again, as in the case of the educational service, is the lowness of compensation. The regular Indian physician gets from \$1,000 to \$1,600 a year, a large majority getting \$1,000 or \$1,200. He has also the housing, light and heat. But this physician has none or but little prospect of advancing,

either in his position or in his salary. He may stay in the Indian Service at one place for five or six or ten years, and he will be practically in the same position as he was. There is nothing before him to strive for, to hope for. You can readily imagine the consequences. There is a young man who has graduated, perhaps, from one of our best colleges, at great expense. He accepts a position in the Indian Service, without suspecting its disadvantages. He is located in a far out-of-the-way place where he is completely devoid of the beneficent and necessary contact with fellow physicians, especially with those with whom he could consult and whom he could call upon for help in serious difficulties. He is not only out of contact with his fellow physicians, but he is almost out of contact, in many cases, with civilized humanity in general. He has to deal with a class of people whom he can not understand, except imperfectly through an interpreter who do not understand him, and who are not used to white man's ways, least so in medicine. There will be many difficulties; the practice is very unsatisfactory; he must let conditions drift, he cannot control them; and there are restrictions on him which still further prevent his mastering the field. Just think of what must become of a young man placed under such conditions, within a few years. There is little before him, except some opportunity to find practice among the surrounding whites and to work himself up out of the Indian Service. If the physician wants a vacation, he may get a leave of absence but he has to pay a substitute, who will take his place during that time. And there are other disadvantages. These conditions, and I have touched upon them but very superficially, are exceedingly unfavorable, and so long as they will exist, there cannot be expected a highly efficient medical service, a service which should be one of the most important agencies for the civilization of the Indian, because the medical man, as among us, reaches the very heart of the Indian family. The Indian, as the white man, will take the instruction of the physician whom he trusts. He will take the suggestion of the physician far sooner than he will take those of the superintendent or anybody else on the reservation, provided he has a full faith in the physician. But he does not get this faith under present conditions.

I shall not go into further details. Those of you who know about these matters, know well how sore a spot this is in the Indian Service and how much it calls for an improvement. I shall conclude with mentioning a few recommendations of improvements which ought to be introduced in both the educational as well as the medical service among the Indians.

As to the *educational service*, the first and most crying need is a proper increase in pay. The next is the proper augmentation of general requirements in those who are to become Indian teachers. The third recommendation is, that as soon as feasible a regular

preparatory course be instituted for all Indian teachers. These women and men before being sent among the Indians, should be required to take somewhere, preferably at Washington, a regular course of several weeks' duration in which they would get some knowledge about their future work and about the Indian. How can we expect a woman who comes from a rural community or a faraway town, where she never saw an Indian and knows nothing about him except perhaps what she got from Cooper's novel and the circus or movies, to go to the Indian and be an effective teacher of his children, and not only his children, but indirectly even of the grownups? It is impossible. There ought to be such a preparatory course in the future. I think it is one of the greatest necessities of the Service and an undertaking from which only the best results can be expected.

Then there should be a provision for regular advancement, on the basis of competitive examination, on the basis of the showing of fitness. The teacher should have something to look to; she should know that two or three years hence she is expected to pass another examination and show progress; if she fails, she will be eliminated; if she succeeds, she will get so much more per month, and have more of an opening for getting a better place in the future. This will mean discipline and ambition, in place of aimlessness and depression, as often happens under present conditions.

The next most important step is that at every larger school and cluster of small schools, there be employed a special teacher or instructor in hygiene. There has been a tendency in recent years to relegate this function to the physician on the reservation. That is crowding too much upon the physician. He will be absent many times when he should be lecturing. He will do his share, but what is needed in addition is a thoroughly trained woman, whether a physician or simply a high class nurse, with special instruction for her particular service. Such a woman should be attached to every larger school and every group of smaller schools and give the children a practical course of hygiene, teaching them how to take care of themselves and their house, how to prepare their food, what to do in emergencies, and how to care for their children, their sick, their aged. There is nobody in the Indian life, as there is among us, who will teach him later on, when he leaves the school. We are taught throughout our lives by friends, relatives, newspapers and everybody we come in contact with what to do and what not to do; but the Indian when he leaves the school is adrift, is among people who know less about those matters than himself, and unless fortified by a course of special instruction, will simply follow the rest of his people.

One or two additional items which may be advocated in this connection would be, first, the employment of men teachers for the boys or at least the higher classes of boys; and the introduction

or augmentation of nature studies among Indian children. These children are largely born and raised in nature and will live in nature, and they should be given all knowledge that it may be possible to give them about the animal and plant life about them, and about the earth, the water, the minerals.

The teachers as well as the Indians would further be benefitted by a more efficient organization of the publications under control of the Indian Service. There are at present no less than twenty-two separate Indian school periodicals. This seems to be a scattering of effort; some of these journals at least could be advantageously combined. And there should be some real good publication which would reach all the teachers and if possible also all Indians who could make good use of it. Such a periodical issued every two weeks or so would carry much further stimulus to the teachers, as well as to other Indian employees; it could call upon them for voluntary contributions; and it could carry information of all sorts on what is going on in the Indian Service everywhere over the United States, not merely on any one reservation. For the benefit of the Indians as well as the teachers such a journal could carry instructive articles on hygienic methods, as well as practical information concerning farming and other industries. It could be in other words a very potential instrument for good in the Indian Service, and I earnestly recommend that project be given a due consideration.

As to recommendations for further improvement in the *medical service*, the first I shall make will be that of the establishment of a similar course of special preparatory instruction to that which I have recommended for the teachers. The army physician, the navy physician receives his special instruction. It is well recognized that without such special instruction even though he may come with a fair experience from private practice or a hospital, he would not yet be fit for the Service; but the Indian physician is taken anywhere, from any circumstances, and without any special instruction is sent among the Indians. This is a serious fault which calls for correction. The medical man who is to enter the Indian Service should learn the essentials about the race, about its predispositions and diseases, about its views of disease and of treatment, and about numerous other facts which would be of importance to him in the new field. Such a course is quite practicable. There are opportunities in Washington which if utilized would fit him in the course of three months for his position, or at least go far in that direction.

In the second place, I can only recommend an early improvement in the pay of the Indian physician, and a subsequent doing away with his practice among the whites. So long as he feels that he is being underpaid he will look for patients and additional in-

come among the whites; and so long as he does this he is bound to neglect and dissatisfy the Indians to whom he is detailed.

In the third place, oblige or rather give the privilege to the Indian physician, like the Indian teacher, to submit periodically to an examination for accomplishments and increased fitness. If he fails he should be promptly eliminated; but if he passes with honors then reward him with some additional compensation and especially with some opening for advancement.

The vacation of the Indian physician should be regulated; he should be entitled as are all other Government officials to a full month's vacation every year at full pay and without the obligation to furnish or pay his substitute.

In the next place I should strongly advocate the establishment in the Indian medical service of a medical journal devoted to that service, a journal in which each of these physicians would be able and called upon to report his observations, and which would carry him every two weeks or a month tidings and experiences of his colleagues in the service in all parts of the country. Such a journal would do a great deal toward increasing the efficiency of his work and toward the keeping up of his ambition. And it would be heartily welcome by the medical profession at large.

On his side the Indian physician should be obliged to make regular periodic visits to all the Indian homes in the territory to which he is assigned, so as to be able to fully and in detail learn conditions as they exist and direct necessary improvements right on the spot.

Finally I should like to suggest, with all employees of the Indian service but especially with the teachers and physicians, that some provision should be made for their old age, after a long and meritorious service. It scarcely needs to be added that such a provision would not only be very just, but that it would also greatly raise the grade of the service.

Mr. President, I have no illusions that improvements here advocated can be realized very promptly or without difficulties; but they are in the line of progress in the Indian Service, in fact, in the line of necessities, and once broadly recognized the right ways will surely be found towards their realization. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: How much wiser your chairman would have been to have omitted his own unprepared and spontaneous comment and permitted some similar recommendations to come to view with all the weight of authority, observation and experience. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Hrdlicka for these judicious and practical recommendations.

We are now to turn our attention to that part of the country where dwell more than one-third of the Indian population, and to consider the always vexed and perplexing question of the condi-

tions among the Five Civilized Tribes. I am always called "Judge" when I go down to Oklahoma, so I suppose that the next speaker is *Judge Allen*; at any rate we shall be glad to listen to MR. R. C. ALLEN, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, the national attorney for the Creek Nation. (Applause.)

THE WORK OF PROBATE ATTORNEYS AMONG INDIANS IN OKLAHOMA

ADDRESS BY MR. R. C. ALLEN

I am not going to undertake to make a speech upon this occasion; I shall devote my allotted time to a discussion of the many cases of graft and corruption with which we have had to deal, and to other matters which I feel you would like to hear about.

One of the speakers who preceded me told you of the importance of having efficient school teachers and physicians to educate the youth and administer to the members of his tribe. I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the lawyers and the preachers are most needed by my tribe.

We have, during a period of more than seventy years, seen one abuse after another practiced by the Government upon the members of the Creek tribe of Indians, starting, as it did, when they were driven along the blazed trail made by these people in immediate advance of soldiers of the United States, detailed to drive them to their home beyond the Mississippi, along which trail is marked the many silent resting places of illustrious members of the tribe who perished on this sad and forced migration of a people.

I wish I had time to discuss with you the memorable treaty of 1866; you remember how the Government forced the Creeks and others of the Five Civilized Tribes to admit the freedmen members thereof to full citizenship in the tribe, and to share in the land and moneys of the tribe, without the payment of a single dollar, upon the threat that unless this was done they would be deprived of all they owned, and how, in despondency, they surrendered to the will of the Government. An analysis of this treaty is an eloquent exposition of the injury and great wrong done thereby to the Creek Indians, and its provisions were likewise disastrous to the members of the other tribes. Finally came the violation of that most cherished provision of all treaties, which runs through all of the earlier treaties, the right to enjoy their domain undisturbed as long as they should exist as a tribe, and the guarantee to them that no state or territory would ever be erected which would embrace any part of the territory ceded to them by the United States.

An epoch-making period in the history of the Indians of Oklahoma was the passage of the jurisdictional act of 1908, giving to the probate courts of Oklahoma jurisdiction over the estates of

deceased, minor and incompetent Indians, and taking away from them the protection of their children by the Federal Government. You have had detailed upon this floor by many men from that State the enormity of the crime committed in the administration of these estates following the enactment of that measure and continuing up to the year 1912, when conditions were exposed in a memorable report made to the Secretary of the Interior by my predecessor in office. Following this report the Congressional delegation from my State appealed to the Governor to protect the infant children of these Indians. In their telegram to the Governor they indulged the hope that legislation would be immediately enacted that would afford protection to these people, and containing the threat that unless that was done Congress would probably reinvest the Government with jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this threat, not a single law has been placed upon the statute books there since that time. You remember that out of that exposure came the appropriation for probate attorneys. Since their appointment in 1913, investigations have disclosed that countless millions of dollars were stolen from helpless and defenseless children of these tribes prior to the appointment of these attorneys. We found in nearly all of the old cases the bonds of guardians were worthless, but sentiment has been so strong against Federal interference in these estates that prosecutions have proven fruitless. We have been able to do little more than expose embezzlements which occurred prior to the time of the appointment of the probate attorneys, and recover from bondsmen where sureties were solvent.

Permit me to say that the sentiment existing in Oklahoma against the prosecution of guardians at the instance of agents of the Federal Government for the embezzling of trust funds, exists with greater or lesser degree in other states of this Union. I remember that just a few years ago I went out to Phoenix, Arizona, to prosecute a protest we had filed to the final account of a guardian of Creek minors who had moved to Arizona from Oklahoma. Although he had filed his accounts showing some of the minors in debt to him, and only a small amount owing to others, we succeeded in getting the court to find a shortage of \$73,000, which sum this guardian had embezzled. We have collected in this case approximately \$73,000 from the bondsmen and from property held in the name of this guardian. After this embezzlement was established I asked the county attorney at Phoenix to issue a warrant for the arrest of the man who had wilfully and deliberately embezzled this money and who, by a decree of the county court, had been solemnly declared to be an embezzler of the funds in his hands belonging to his ward. Although that has been nearly three years ago, and the statute of limitation will run next spring, I have not been able to even get a warrant issued for the arrest of

this man, because they say it would cost about \$200 to extradite him from Oklahoma. I do not believe that there is a man here today who believes that the great State of Arizona would refuse the issuance of a warrant against any living man on earth who had stolen from any other individual than an Indian.

Some years ago a guardian was appointed for one of the big estates in Creek County, Oklahoma. At the expiration of his guardianship, occasioned by his removal, the county court found that this guardian had embezzled or otherwise misappropriated approximately \$100,000 of the funds of his ward, and notwithstanding this enormous misappropriation, which constituted the main service rendered by this guardian, the county court allowed a guardian's fee of \$15,000. Soon afterwards he was arrested upon an indictment brought against him at the instance of the attorney general of Oklahoma for the embezzlement of these funds. A few weeks ago the attorney general dismissed this criminal action, assigning as his reasons therefor that there was not sufficient evidence to convict.

This same man was the guardian of five other minors. There came into his hands as guardian of these various minors approximately \$400,000. During his term of office as guardian of these minors he misappropriated nearly all of the funds of their estates, and was allowed for this service fees as guardian aggregating about \$75,000.

I am glad to say that if nothing more has been accomplished by the probate attorney, he has been the watch dog of the treasury of the Indians; he has been in court; he has required the execution of new bonds; he has been a thorn in the flesh of the grafter.

Nearly a year ago, through the probate attorney for Okmulgee County, I was advised that a party at Okmulgee had been guardian for a little girl for more than eight years. She had implicit confidence in him; she trusted him as she would her father; she was an orphan girl, could neither read or write or understand the English language; she was brought up in absolute ignorance by this guardian. For several months before she arrived at her majority he had a man at her house to watch her and see that she did not get out of his reach. The day she arrived at her majority he sent her to Muskogee in his automobile, where she was met by the two brothers of the guardian, one a lawyer and the other a business partner of the guardian. They there took from her a conveyance covering her entire interest in the estate of her deceased brother for \$22,500 and proceeded to secure the approval of that deed by the probate court, withholding of course the facts as to the value of the land. The land at that time was producing nearly \$1,000 a day from oil. We secured the disapproval of the deed and prevented this guardian from acquiring title to said property by a suit in the district court for Creek county. The day

after I filed that lawsuit to set aside these conveyances, the lawyer brother of the guardian brought suit against a leading newspaper of Tulsa, Oklahoma, for \$50,000 for criminal libel, for publishing one paragraph of that petition, and I didn't talk about him as mean as I wanted to, because I couldn't use that kind of language in a court pleading. Since that time, a little more than a year ago, we have received in royalties for that minor more than \$250,000 in cash, the proceeds from this land which the guardian was getting for \$22,500. I could here consume an entire day in detailing to you one case after another where almost, if not quite as flagrant attempts to rob minors were made, as in the cases referred to.

Approximately fifty per cent of the refinable oil that is produced in the United States is produced upon land that was originally allotted to the Creek Indians in Oklahoma, very little of which is now owned by them. If the Government of the United States had adopted the policy in the Creek Nation that was adopted in the Osage Nation, of reserving from allotment the oil and other minerals of that tribe, they would today be the wealthiest people per capita on the face of the earth. I have with me a list of twelve who have incomes of approximately \$1,000 a day, and who now have on deposit to their credit at the Union Agency at Muskogee, accounts ranging from \$100,000 to \$750,000 each.

We have thousands of minors there who have very large estates. Is it any wonder, then, that it has been such a prolific field for graft? I do not believe that the citizenship of that state differs from the citizenship of other states. You hold out that inducement anywhere that Oklahoma offers, and you will find people flocking there bent upon securing the estates of these Indians.

Time will not permit me to go further into a discussion of these matters. I desire to say, however, in this connection that Congress has acted with great wisdom in maintaining the probate attorney branch of the Indian Service. The reports of these various attorneys located within the Five Civilized Tribes show a saving to the minors of those tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, through their efforts, of more than a million and a quarter of dollars, and that new bonds were secured by them covering liabilities of \$2,625,000. Growing out of this work there has been aroused much sentiment against the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the attorneys for these tribes, and the probate attorneys. There is no opposition to the work of these officers except by those whose schemes to loot estates of allottees, minors especially, are antagonized and exposed, and who, by fraud and graft, feed and fatten upon ill-gotten gains.

The probate attorney is the friend of the Indian, studies his needs, heeds his complaints, protects him in the enjoyment of his rights, promotes the education of his children, and looks after the

welfare of his family. He is the direct representative of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is constantly active in assisting him in carrying out his policies for the betterment of the condition of the Indian citizen. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs most humanely and with patient, zealous and insistent care and effort has labored for the consummation of the hope and purpose to improve existing conditions by conserving the estates of Indians, to educate their children, to inculcate principles of thrift and economy, to secure comfortable and happy homes for these people and to teach and lead them on and up to the higher table-lands of life that they may become factors in the realm of good citizenship and at last leave to their posterity, as a rich and glorious heritage, the impress of noble manhood and womanhood. In this work he has been ably assisted by the Assistant Commissioner and the other very splendid and capable men assigned by him to this work.

I want to call your attention briefly to an item of legislation now pending before the Congress of the United States, commonly known as the Hastings Bill. By its terms it is intended to take away from the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs all of the jurisdiction now vested in them and transfer that jurisdiction to the tribal superintendent. In other words, to take away from the Indian the protection now afforded him by review of his affairs by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and vest that jurisdiction in the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes located at Muskogee, in the State of Oklahoma.

In considering the advisability of the adoption of this measure, it is well to review the experiences of the past. Every bill that has ever passed Congress localizing jurisdiction over the Indians in Oklahoma has resulted very detrimentally to the Indians. I do not believe that any friend of the Indian has any right to complain because it takes a week or two longer under the present system to divest him of all he ever hopes to have in the way of property, and yet we find that the only argument in favor of this bill is the fact that it would afford an easier and speedier way for the Indian to dispose of his lands and money.

In condemning the terms of the Hastings bill I do not desire to be understood as visiting adverse personal or political criticism upon its author. In many respects he is a most admirable representative in Congress, and serves his constituency well. Certainly, in proposing the legislation in question he represents the sentiment of a large majority of that constituency.

The introduction of this bill met with tremendous applause in the State of Oklahoma. Its passage has been earnestly advocated by many conventions and associations of business men, and is favored by a majority of the citizens of that State, at least, a majority of such as have felt an interest sufficient to justify the ex-

pression of a personal opinion. The public press of the State, in so far as it reflects the views of races alien to the Indian, is of one accord in its advocacy of the bill, and it has been repeatedly charged by that press that I am the only man in public life from that State who is opposing it.

The people of Oklahoma, not unlike the people of other states, as the state grows in prosperity and welfare they will themselves, grow in the same respect and in the same measure. This is especially true of the new states, such as Oklahoma. The people are naturally anxious that the speed of its development be accelerated, and its growth forced, even to the extent of their promotion by artificial means, and the employment of hot-house methods.

The Hastings bill was so designed and intended. Its purpose was, and is, to afford a stimulus to the development of the State's resources. But, you ask, why do the people of Oklahoma feel that the bill, if enacted into law, will operate that way upon the resources of the State? The answer is simple and easily understood. The grafters of the State feel that, in the hands of the tribal Superintendent, allotted Indian lands and individual Indian moneys will be more easy of assault, because more readily accessible, than in the hands of the Secretary and Commissioner at Washington. The citizenry of the State feels, conscientiously and honestly, too, that so long as the use of individual moneys and the alienation of the individual allotments are restricted, just that long will the growth and development of the State be retarded, and they see, or at least think they see, in the Hastings bill relief from that condition. Seemingly it is their idea that the reservation of Indian moneys and Indian lands in the possession and control of the Federal Government, for the use and benefit of the Indian, constitutes an obstruction to the State's progress and, it is apparently further their idea that this obstruction may the more easily be removed if its removal is left to the discretion of the tribal Superintendent. Perhaps, but it is desirable that the restricted Indian be afforded an easy method of parting with his lands? Why were the restrictions placed on him by the Federal Government in the first instance, if not to obviate this very thing?

Many Indians in Oklahoma are amply qualified to cope with the white man in the various pursuits of life, but the vast majority of them are still unfitted, by lack of education and business experience, to protect themselves in their dealings with the white man. And so the Federal Government provided these restrictions on the use of their money and the sale of their lands. Is it well, therefore, to construct a curve of swiftest descent down which these restrictions may glide to their destruction, and to the destruction of Indian ownership of allotted lands and the dissipation of Indian moneys? And yet, the majority of the white race of Oklahoma believes in the construction of such a curve for that very purpose.

Why? Is it because they are dishonest? No. The standard of honesty among the white people in Oklahoma is as high, and rests on as firm a foundation as that of the people of any State in the Union, or any people on this broad earth. It is because they do not understand Indian problems. Lately come to the State, they have devoted their time and their energies to the solution of problems affecting their own material welfare and advancement, and the psychology of the Indian nature, and the analysis of the Indian character they have passed over to some more convenient day, when a greater leisure and a more opportune time for that purpose may await them.

Why, then, entrust unreservedly the disposition of restricted Indian moneys and restricted Indian lands to the tribal Superintendent? Is it not the better part of wisdom to permit the Superintendent to be the initial tribunal and the Secretary and Commissioner to be the court of last resort in the disposition of these lands and the distribution of these moneys? In this view of the situation the interests of the Indian will profit by the advice and wisdom of both tribunals. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know whether he is a judge or not, but I think he ought to be. (Applause and laughter.)

We are accustomed to look to our dear and trusted colleague, HON. WARREN K. MOOREHEAD, of Andover, Massachusetts, a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, for the frank expression of his opinions. He always has the courage of his convictions and he will now utter them. (Applause.)

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN INDIAN AFFAIRS

ADDRESS BY HON. WARREN K. MOOREHEAD

I wish to say in preface, that a man should always take good advice. I have been told that my prepared paper might be misconstrued, so instead of reading it, I shall speak to you. It is best that I vary my original paper, as my subject is somewhat delicate since we are to soon have a national election. Some in this audience might think that I was an active partisan, or, as they say in Washington, "Guilty of pernicious political activity." I assure you, however, that in a review of Indian affairs the past twenty years, the Democrats and the Republicans both are equally to blame, and I shall try to be neutral. So far as possible in discussing this problem, I shall endeavor to omit names and circumstances, although I have brought with me, a great many documents which I can show to friends later who are interested in following the matter up specifically. We are told that if we speak critically and destroy, we should also present a constructive policy.

I believe in that. I do not believe in mere denunciation. In our republican form of government, it is a question whether we are competent to handle a dependent people satisfactorily. We have handled the Philippines to the satisfaction of pretty much everybody except the partisans, but in the Indian Service, I think it is no reflection on the gentlemen who have been in office in the past twenty years, in Congress and elsewhere, or the gentlemen in office today, to make the broad assertion that it is doubtful if we have shown wisdom in the handling of Indian affairs. You must remember that the gentlemen elected to Congress are responsible to their constituents and that Congressmen are human, that they have to follow the wishes of their constituents. In the Eastern and Northern districts there are very few if any Indians but in the West and the Southwest and the Northwest, the members of Congress have a great responsibility placed upon their shoulders. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as you were told four years ago by one of the commissioners—and I will repeat it lest we forget—if he is very radical in pushing his propaganda against the loss of Indian property, loses caste among certain Congressmen from the West and the South. On the other hand, if he deals in generalities in the office as well as on the platform and does not protect the Indians, the various benevolent organizations of the East oppose him. In any event he has a very difficult position to fill. That is also true of the Congressman from sections where there is much Indian property. Judge Allen has covered the Indian situation in Oklahoma. I have been down there several times; have had a good many radical things to say regarding Oklahoma. The situation there is not satisfactory. Tracing back to what caused it, it is safe to say that politics is more responsible than anything else for unsatisfactory condition of Indians in that commonwealth. I fear conditions among Indians will continue to remain bad in the future, not only there but in other states if we permit the politicians to control. The remedy for this evil lies with the American people. If we have the courage to apply it, I think we can clean up the present unsatisfactory situation which obtains. Yet if we continue to denounce, and do not embark on a general, broad and comprehensive plan of public education in Indian affairs, making political activities one of our arguments, even as Mr. Sells has preached the good gospel of education, of health, stock raising, etc., (to which all men subscribe and which they approve) we shall fail in our efforts to rouse the American people and put an end to this. You will put an end to it in no other way. Now down in Oklahoma, there was, years ago, a fight between two men who were candidates for the United States Senate, and it was a very bitter fight. One of the gentlemen in this audience has some posters that were used in that fight and they are very partisan, but they illustrate the desperate character

of the fight and it was chiefly about the Indian. One of these men won the fight and was duly elected to the United States Senate. This gentleman who was put in the United States Senate is of course grateful to those who elected him. He is human and I suppose it is no exaggeration and not personal reflection on that gentleman to say that he has to follow the wishes of his constituents, whether their wishes are agreeable to him or not. This gentleman became interested in the Indian affairs of Oklahoma and the Government brought one hundred and fifty-one suits against him some years ago. Mr. A. N. Frost, who spoke to you last year, cited these, and they are to be found in the court records. This Senator had Mr. Frost removed from the Department of Justice. Mr. Frost has letters and documents to indicate that a man friendly to the Senator was put in charge of these cases. Mr. Frost went to Oklahoma in June, 1916, and looked at the docket, and he found, that it had been cleared of a great many of these cases against the Senate.

In Minnesota, on the other hand, where there was a Republican majority, there was a political fight over the White Earth timber scandal, and this dragged through the courts for six or seven years and was at last compromised. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution finally proved who were full-blooded Indians and who were not, and thus enabled the Department of Justice to win such of the suits as could be won. The attorneys, politically appointed, had done little of consequence and it remained for a scientist to save the day. What was that fight in Minnesota about? There are eight hundred mixed-blood voters in northern Minnesota. In a close election, these votes are valuable. Northern Minnesota was dominated by the "timber interests," and acting for them are two gentlemen who were leaders among this mixed-blood element, and active politically. I think after viewing the correspondence and talking with the men who came from that region, we are safe in assuming that the eight hundred votes in that northern country played a considerable part in determining what happened. We have in the Yakima country, something which has recently come into view, which shows the activity of politics and is most unfortunate. A Republican and a Democrat, who ordinarily on the stump oppose each other, when it came to the question of throwing open the Yakima reservation and dividing up the Indian property, which has been proposed by certain chambers of commerce of the region, pulled together, forgetting their political differences. They believed that it was to the interest of the white people living in that community that the reservation should be thrown open. Briefly, whether we wish to speak of it or not, we have unfortunately the domination of politics in Indian affairs and have had this for two or three generations. If we seek the welfare of the Indian, we should put an end, if possible,

to this political domination, whether it is in California, the Yakima country, Minnesota, Oklahoma, New York State or any other place. Senator Quay used to refer to the plum tree and he once sent a telegram which has become famous; older people in this audience will remember it; it said, "I will shake the plum tree." We have that same old political plum tree today and there are other men who have enjoyed its fine fruit. I might carry the simile further and say that any person who is familiar with agriculture knows that you cannot have an orchard and a good field together, you have got to have either the orchard or the field. The question for us to decide is whether we are going to cultivate the political plum tree or whether we shall destroy that tree, no matter what kind of fruit it bears, root and branch. Crops won't grow in the shade and we have a great deal of political shade everywhere. (Laughter) Now there is a minority in control in these various Indian communities. I want to emphasize the point that Judge Allen alluded to, that in Oklahoma, Minnesota or any of these states, the greater per cent of all the citizens are law-abiding, upright men and women. That must be understood, but they hesitate about coming into action. They are timid, just as many of us are too timid. They are willing to write to you and tell you the conditions and deplore them, but usually they don't want their names mentioned. There are scores of such people, and it therefore places any man who has the interests of the Indians at heart in a very embarrassing position; he cannot quote what they say since most of the letters are marked personal. The authors, while sympathizing with the causes, do not want to come out and fight. This shows what we might call a ground swell of public opinion in favor of the Indian. If we could act in unison with those people through the Mohonk Conference, through the Indian Rights Association, through the Indian Office at Washington, I do not think that the enemy would be so active; they would feel that public opinion was against them and all these men in public life, all these men in office, are swayed by public opinion. If they think that the vociferous minority can control and are in favor of despoiling the Indian, they will, although their conscience tells them no—they personally being upright men—enact such legislation as that minority desires. I do not for a moment believe that the majority in Indian communities are against justice. I believe in my country and her traditions; I believe that the chief evil, the chief stumbling block in this whole Indian business is politics; I believe that these appointments that are made, no matter how skillfully they are covered up through a civil service or any other kind of cloak, are too often political; many of them do not result in good to the Indian, and I believe that we men and women should face that issue and do all in our power to put an end to it. In my room are forty letters from the State of Oklahoma received in the

past four or five days. I have not been in Oklahoma for two years, and I wanted to make sure of my facts before speaking. I wrote frank letters to ministers, teachers, business men and physicians in eastern Oklahoma, being careful to omit ex-government employees, so that I would have replies from persons whose opinion might be unbiased. These letters indicate, as Judge Allen told you, a generally bad situation, a situation which will not improve in view of the Hastings Bill and other proposed legislation in Congress. It seems to me that if the legislation is passed by men in Congress who, because public sentiment is not against them, listen to their constituents, adverse legislation will place the remaining Indian property in the State of Oklahoma at the mercy of the grafter. Then we shall have thousands of paupers and others to take care of, as Mr. Grant Foreman and many other-speakers from Oklahoma on this platform the past two or three years have pointed out to you. There is no reason why the Indian Service, together with other branches of our service, should not be put on such a high plane that it will be absolutely non-political in every way. I see no millenium in Indian affairs until it is absolutely divorced from politics. Men and women, in the Indian Service, from the Commissioner down to the humblest subordinate do their duty, but they work under great disadvantage. The employees in Washington in the Indian Office and in the field, are more or less controlled by Senators and Congressmen. That they cannot always protest is not their fault. We as American citizens should face this problem of political control. We should grapple with it heroically, and then if we fail, we shall know that it is not because of lack of patriots in this country but because the forces of evil and the politicians are too strong for us. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Moorehead says he is neutral, but he is not neutral. He is always on the side of righteousness and he means to get something done. I am a little doubtful about this business of educating the American public to the wrongs of the Indians; it is a pretty large task, and the American public is very much occupied in other matters. Sometimes you have to get at it a bit indirectly. A year ago I was out in San Francisco; I was invited to address the Commonwealth Club, which is the businessmen's organization that meets Saturdays for luncheon and you get the leading men of affairs at the community at that luncheon. The secretary came to ask what I would speak about. I said I wanted to speak about the California Indians. He said "Oh don't, we wouldn't get a hundred men if you talked on a subject of that kind; they are not interested; take something else." I said "No, but you can announce it in a roundabout way if you want to; announce that I will speak on California's 'first families.'"

(Laughter and applause.) Well, we had a good crowd; they wanted to know what this Easterner was going to talk about; was it Spanish Hidalgoes or Forty-Niners or the Millionaires of Nob Hill? Well, they had to hear about the California Indians.

I venture to believe that the suggestion which Mr. Moorehead himself once brought to this conference is one of the straightest and most direct and practicable paths out of our difficulties; that is, a comprehensive Indian law, which takes the whole Indian Service out of politics once and for all and entrusts the administration of affairs not to any politically appointed commissioner but to a board of commissioners, appointed for a reasonably long tenure of service and unrelated to a political organization. That seems to me a practicable suggestion and one upon which the members of this Conference might well ponder. The Indian problem is now primarily a business proposition. It is a matter of just laws and efficient administration. It is a business that can be handled by such a commission as you have had recommended to you here. (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE REED, the officer in the Indian Bureau who has charge of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, has been asked to open the discussion of the general theme of the morning. (Applause.)

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE REED

The Five Civilized Tribes in Eastern Oklahoma, comprising the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole Tribes, now number 101,519 enrolled members, very nearly one-third of the Indian population of the United States, which is 333,010, excluding Alaska. Of this number, 2,582 are enrolled as intermarried white citizens of the Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations; 23,405 are enrolled freedmen or negroes, thus leaving 75,532 Indians enrolled among the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, a larger number of Indians than in any other state of the Union, Arizona being second with 42,336 Indians. Of the 75,523 Indians enrolled, only 31,841 remain restricted.

Much criticism has been recently directed at the delay in the final disposition of the affairs of these five tribes.

Many causes operated to retard the work of winding up the tribal affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes. Despairing of averting the attempt of the states to extend state laws over their Indian lands and driven by the encroachments of the white man to emigrate from their happy hunting grounds of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana,

Tennessee and Arkansas, these five tribes withdrew from those states and sought the solitudes of old Indian Territory for a "permanent home" where they were solemnly promised by treaties with the United States, no white man should intrude, no state should ever have a right to pass laws to govern such Indians, that their Indian lands should at no future time without their consent be embraced within the limits of any state, but that they should be allowed to govern themselves according to their own laws and customs. They wended their way west. Each tribe established and maintained for over half a century a national or tribal government modeled after our own Federal and State Governments, with a written constitution, legislative, executive and judicial branches clearly defined, a governor or principal chief, an upper and lower house of the legislature, a supreme and intermediate courts, Indian tribal schools and a national newspaper. These tribes were so far advanced in civil government, that they were aptly called the Five Civilized Tribes. Though their tribal governments became corrupt and their officials venal, yet these tribes were loath to abandon their tribal governments, abolish their courts, allow the Secretary of the Interior to take over their tribal affairs, and supervise their individual affairs after allotments in severalty. Finally with forebodings as to the future, they ultimately agreed to become citizens of a state subject to its laws, which they abhorred as in bygone days.

To urge the tribes on to a gradual dissolution of their tribal governments and to their acceptance of states sovereignty, it was agreed to advance the date of the abolition of their tribal courts to July 1, 1898 (as to Cherokee and Seminole tribes) and October 1, 1898 (as to Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek tribes), and the abolition of their tribal governments to March 4, 1906, but their tribal existence was continued indefinitely by Sec. 28 of the Act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. 148.) However, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. Cato Sells, in his laudable ambition to do away with useless and expensive officialdom, abolished the Cherokee Nation on July 1, 1915, and abolished the Seminole Nation on September 23, 1916, with the exception of the Governor, leaving only *pro forma* tribal governments in the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek Nations, which will soon pass away.

It is true that twenty-three years have elapsed since the Dawes Commission, created by the Act of March 3, 1893 (27 Stat. 645.), was appointed by the President to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes for the extinguishment of their tribal title to lands in Indian Territory for the ultimate creation of a state or states of the Union to embrace said lands.

Though the personnel of that Commission, two years later (Act of March 2, 1895, 28 Stat. 939) was increased from three to five members and was later reduced to four (Act of July 1, 1898,

30 Stat. 591) and finally to one (Tams Bixby July 1, 1905, succeeded by J. George Wright, July 1, 1907), the Commission did not conclude the Atoka agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaws until April 23, 1897, four years after appointment, while the Choctaw and Chickasaw supplemental agreement was not concluded until July 1, 1902; ratified September 25, 1902, (32 Stat. 641), nine years after their appointment.

Nevertheless, the Dawes Commission began to expedite the enrolment of all citizens of the Five Civilized Tribes under the farcical requirement of the Act of June 10, 1896 (29 Stat. 321), providing that all applications for enrolment should be made "within three months after the passage of this act" and decisions must be rendered therein "within ninety days after the same shall be made." If the work of the Commission under this act had been accepted as the end of enrolment, the citizenship rolls would have been completed in six months' time, closed in 1897 and not on March 4, 1907, ten years later, as provided by Sec. 2 of the Act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 137.) The enrolment work begun under the Act of June 10, 1896, was made nugatory by the Act of June 28, 1898 (30 Stat. L. 495), the Curtis Act, a masterpiece of Indian legislation, which authorized anew the consideration of applications for enrolment filed prior to Dec. 1, 1905, while Congress by the Acts of March 3, 1905 and April 26, 1906 authorized the enrolment of new born children born between certain dates and living on the latter date, as late as March 4, 1906, whose parents were enrolled. Thus as births increased, the work of enrolment increased and was unending. As Congress could not stop the births, it closed the rolls on March 4, 1907. Yet Congress by the Act of August 1, 1914 (38 Stat. 582) added the names of 312 persons to the closed citizenship rolls by special act naming the persons to be enrolled.

Importunities continue to come at each succeeding session of Congress to reopen the rolls to add names thereto. The Mississippi Choctaws ever since the rolls were closed in 1907 have kept up a determined fight to reopen the rolls, but were defeated at the last session of Congress.

Congress has passed 172 acts affecting the work of the Five Civilized Tribes, and each act imposed additional burdens on the work of the Commission or Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, to be reviewed by the Indian Office and the Secretary of the Interior. Is it any wonder that the work has been so long in fulfilment? It has been a stupendous task. Undoubtedly more perplexing problems have been presented for administrative solution, more persistent and protracted litigation to prolong, to harass and even to halt the work has been begun, and more abstruse opinions have been handed down by our supreme and inferior courts for application among the Five Civilized Tribes than anywhere else in the Indian Service.

Innumerable test cases have been tried out for our guidance, and the proverbial "Law's delays" are partly responsible for our inaction. I cite a leading test case in extenuation. Under the enrolment Act of June 10, 1896, any party aggrieved could appeal from the decision of the Dawes Commission to the United States Court for Indian Territory which tried the case *de novo* and its decision was made final. Congress by Sec. 33 of the Choctaw and Chickasaw supplemental agreement of July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. 641) created the Choctaw-Chickasaw Citizenship Court and provided for a test case to be filed in that court, styled, John T. Riddles et al, seeking to annul and vacate all judgments of the United States Court for Indian Territory favorable to applicants and reviewed *de novo* the right to enrolment of 3413 persons. The two most notable achievements of this Court, two years in session, from August 4, 1902 to December 12, 1904, were sustaining the opinion of Federal Judge William H. H. Clayton, in the case of Jack Amos et al vs. Choctaw Nation, and two days before adjournment, fixing a fee of \$750,000 paid Messrs. Mansfield, McMurray & Cornish for alleged services rendered the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations before that court, in preventing enrolment of 3413 persons, thereby claiming to have saved to those two tribes in money and property, an aggregate of \$15,850,000. The Secretary of the Interior, having no discretion in the matter, was compelled to pay this fee, though that firm, during the rendition of such services were the regularly retained attorneys for the Choctaw Nation at a salary of \$5,000 per annum.

This same firm instituted a suit in the Court of Claims as attorneys for the Chickasaw Tribe under contract approved by the Secretary of the Interior on April 8, 1903, afterwards appealed to the United States Supreme Court (vide U. S. v. Choctaw Nation et al, 193 U. S. 115,) and recovered judgment against the United States in favor of the Chickasaw Tribe for the sum of \$606,936.08, the value of lands allotted 9,066 Chickasaws freedmen, who were never adopted by the Chickasaw Nation as citizens thereof. Their fee was fixed at not to exceed \$27,500, which has never been paid, but is withheld awaiting adjustment of counter claims to be referred to the Court of Claims under H. R. 10555 introduced on January 31, 1916, on which the Secretary reported under date of March 30, 1916.

The attempt of the County and State authorities of Oklahoma since the passage of the Act of May 27, 1908 (35 Stat. 312), removing restrictions on the alienation of allotted lands, to tax these lands in the hands of the original allottees, was frustrated by 8,000 plaintiff allottees of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes who fought the case of Choate v. Trapp through the State Courts of Oklahoma and to the Supreme Court of the United States (Choate v. Trapp 224 U. S. 666—Gleason V. Wood, 224 U. S. 679) wherein

the Court held that the allotted lands of Choctaw and Chickasaw allottees were non-taxable so long as the title thereto remained in the original allottee.

Decisions of the same Court affecting the power of the State of Oklahoma to tax allotted lands of Creek citizens held that the "tax exemption" covered only the homestead of forty acres. (*English v. Richardson* 224 U. S. 680.)

Three hundred and nine townsites with additions covering 65772.16 acres, have been surveyed, platted and sold for the Five Civilized Tribes for \$4,540,432.69.

For the Creek Tribe special counsel was employed to prosecute 225 Creek town-lot suits, involving 1,500 lots principally in Muskogee and Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the Creek Tribe recovered by compromise in cash \$80,284.50 and 121 lots appraised at \$102,500. This litigation lasted six years—1907 to 1913. One hundred and sixty-eight Creek town-lots remain unsold.

The area of the Five Civilized Tribes, covering 40 counties of Oklahoma, is 19,525,966 acres, almost equal to the State of Maine. Every 40-acre tract of this vast area was surveyed, classified and appraised for allotment or sale. Sites for towns, courthouses, churches, cemeteries, schools and railroad rights of way, totaling 139,284 acres, were reserved from allotment. Since April 1, 1899, when the first land office was opened at Muskogee, Creek Nation, 15,794,238 acres were allotted to allottees to June 30, 1916.

Of the remaining unallotted lands, 2,673,828 acres have been in six years since November 1, 1910, sold at public auction to the highest bidder for \$15,564,573 at an average price of \$5.82 per acre. Of the remaining 918,616 acres, 907,500 will be offered for sale this month from October 4 to 31, 1916, inclusive, which, if all offered is sold, will leave unallotted and unsold only 11,116 acres among the Five Civilized Tribes. This includes 8,377 acres reserved for coal and asphalt lessees.

There are 119 Choctaw and Chickasaw tribal leases, 113 of which are for 30 years, the last lease to expire September 24, 1932, covering 107,830.08 acres of coal in the Choctaw Nation, and 4,840 acres of asphalt, nearly all in the Chickasaw Nation, the total output of which in coal for fiscal year 1916, was 2,502,571.09 tons, a decrease from last year of 191,724 tons, while in asphalt the output was 6,048 tons, an increase of 2,496 tons. The royalty on coal credited to Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes was \$199,863.30; the royalty on asphalt being \$5,000, the total royalty on coal and asphalt being \$204,863.30, to be applied under existing law to the continuance of tribal schools. The decrease in coal is due to high price of labor in production, high freight rates, oil and natural gas as competitors of coal for fuel. A bill was introduced in Congress

by Mr. Carter of Oklahoma on March 1, 1916*, for the sale of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribal coal and asphalt deposits, on which the Secretary of the Interior under date of March 10, 1916, reported favorably on another attempt to be made to sell such minerals, valued at the latest and lowest estimate as worth \$12,238,189.

Since the Act of May 27, 1908 (35 Stat. 312), 13,248 applications for removal of restrictions have been passed upon. The Secretary of the Interior has removed the restrictions on alienation of 504,567.44 acres, while Congress by six Acts (July 1, 1902, April 21, 1904, Sec. 16 of Creek Agreement June 30, 1902, May 27, 1908, May 29, 1908, March 3, 1903) has removed restrictions on alienation of 12,013,572.56 acres, by one single swoop, by operation of Sec. 1 of the Act of May 27, 1908 (35 Stat. 312) removed the restrictions *en bloc* on 9,095,716.12 acres, over 18 times the acreage removed by the Secretary since 1904. The Act of Congress based the criterion of competency on the quantum of Indian blood of the allottee, and not upon an examination as to allottee's education and business experience. No greater curse was ever inflicted upon the Five Civilized Tribes than the removal of restriction act of May 27, 1908, as the astounding assertion is made that eighty per cent of the allottees unrestricted by that act have sold their landed holdings for grossly inadequate considerations, and instead of being landlords they are now tenants.

Eighteen field clerks, each having in charge an average of 1800 restricted Indians, have been appointed at convenient headquarters to advise allottees as to their individual Indian affairs and to protect and preserve their property interests, and have expended for allottees' benefit for 1916 the sum of \$908,892.96, and twenty probate attorneys, now paid from federal funds, saved and conserved to restricted minors and adult Indians for 1916, the total stated sum of \$3,302,130.

In the hearings on the Hasting Bill which Judge Allen discussed in detail, Mr. E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, showed conclusively to the Committee on Indian Affairs, that the delays complained of were not due to the "red tape and long distance supervision" of the Indian Office, but were due to delays in the field service.

Since 1904 eighteen per capita payments have been paid to each member of the Five Civilized Tribes entitled thereto, the last payment now in progress to the Choctaws and Chickasaws by blood, entailing an expenditure of \$9,000,000 of tribal funds.

In addition thereto, when you consider that the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes has on hand awaiting investment or deposit \$4,913,207.96 as individual Indian money, collected for rich Indians as accumulated royalties on oil lands under lease,

*H. R. 12544.

that he has on deposit in State and National Banks in Oklahoma, \$6,975,969.41 of tribal funds and that he handled through his office during the fiscal year 1916 the total sum of \$17,370,885.73, you can readily see that his job is no ordinary government clerk's job, but a job of magnitude and moment, requiring a trained mind in a man of unflinching nerve and unswerving loyalty to prevent the grafter from separating the Indian from his royalty monies and his allotted and inherited lands.

No more sacred trust is imposed on Federal officials than to use the utmost vigor and vigilance to thwart the designs of unscrupulous grafters who prey upon Indian wards for their living. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This discussion is now open to the floor.

MR. SNIFFEN: There is one practical step that every member of this Conference can take in regard to the Hastings Bill. That bill is favorably reported by the House Committee and is on the calendar for the coming session, so we ought, in the interest of the Oklahoma Indians, to do what we can to impress on our members in Congress—get newspaper articles and stimulate public sentiment, educate it and crystallize the opposition to those measures. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: DR. ABBOTT, you have cut us a good deal lately. We are glad to welcome you here again. Can't we hear something from you? (Applause.)

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: At the time of the second or third conference the whole Indian policy of this country was based on the idea that the Indians were to be forever kept in a territory by themselves from which all civilized influences were to be excluded, except as they were especially permitted, and when the proposal was first made to break up this reservation system and bring the Indians into citizenship, it was only after a long and hard battle on that subject the result was reached by unanimous agreement that the reservation system was bad and should be abandoned. A committee was appointed to lay the conclusion of this Conference before Congress and before the President, and it is perfectly safe to say that the action of this Lake Mohonk Conference was one of the most potent influences in the breaking up of that system. Up to this time also the education of the Indian was done in a fragmentary way by private benevolences. After a discussion continued for two or three years we finally came to the conclusion that the Federal Government ought to provide a public school system for all Indian school children on the same basis on which the state provides a public school system for all state children. This conclusion when adopted was laid before the national

administration and was the inauguration of our present Indian educational policy. I am therefore somewhat more hopeful than you, Mr. Chairman, as to the power this Conference can exert if it really goes to work with a direct, practical, and well defined plan. I believe that if Mr. Reed, Mr. Moorehead, Mr. Allen and yourself, Sir, could unite in proposing a definite plan for this Conference to adopt and it were adopted by this Conference, and a competent committee were organized to lay it before the President, the Indian Department and members of Congress, our action would not be ineffective. Personally I think your suggestion of a permanent Indian Commission to take the place of an Indian Bureau changing with every administration, is admirable, but whatever the plan is, I believe if this Conference would definitely form a plan for taking and keeping the Indian business out of changing politics and would secure a committee who would go to Washington and present that plan there, it would not be ineffective. The first step toward that would be an agreement by the four gentlemen who put this problem before us today, on some plan which could be presented to the Conference.

The other thing I wish to say can be said in a moment. I hold in my hand a letter received from Mr. R. D. Hall, the Secretary for Indian Work of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., enclosing the following resolutions passed by the recent National Students' Conference:

THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL INDIAN STUDENT CONFERENCE
ESTES PARK, COLORADO

June 18, 1916

Be it resolved by the delegates in session at the Third Annual National Indian Student Conference

THAT we view with alarm the pernicious effects of the use of the drug peyote by our Indian race, that we appeal to all loyal Christians and non-Christian members of our race to use every possible means to prevent our people from using peyote, and that we appeal for united effort to destroy this traffic in peyote which is destroying our people, both body and soul.

To this end we urge the passage of Gandy Bill H. R. 10669, which provides for the abolition of this traffic.

THAT we firmly believe the day has arrived when every Indian student who has completed the full course of study prescribed by the Federal Indian Bureau for Indian Schools should be deemed fully competent to handle his own affairs, and should receive full rights of citizenship and be thrown upon his own resources entirely.

THAT we heartily commend the reaffirmation by the present Administration of the ruling allowing any Indian pupil over eighteen years of age to choose for himself his own religious affiliation. This accords Indian students full privilege in line with the American principle of religious liberty.

THAT we greatly deplore the practice which pertains among some of our Indian people of participating in shows, dances and other pagan practices for the amusement of white people, thus humiliating our race and destroying its standards. We protest against this practice both on reservations and in Indian schools or any place whatsoever.

We believe our race has a reputation for nobility and conservatism which should prevent any member of it from making a spectacle of himself. We pledge ourselves never to participate in such exhibitions.

THAT it is high time that every Indian should know his individual financial status, in order that independent, industrious citizens might be more rapidly developed. To this end we urge the segregation of all funds due Indians, especially tribal funds.

THAT we view as traitors to their race any Indian students or young people who act as agents of demoralizing institutions such as pool halls, saloons, etc., which contribute to the rapid downfall of our young people.

We urge all self-respecting students on reservations to unite to help maintain high standards of living, and especially to encourage students coming from the schools to start right when reaching home.

THAT there is greater need of co-operation between missions on the reservations and the Government School Associations. To this end we urge that the School Associations be informed of students leaving for said institutions, and that Associations notify reservation missions of returning students. This will, we believe, tend to save many of our young people who otherwise are lost.

Mr. Hall accompanies the resolutions with these recommendations:

It is of prime importance that we secure two things as soon as possible—first, the full citizenship rights, with all the responsibilities as well as privileges, for all Indian young men who finish the course of study prescribed by the Government schools. This means a tenth grade academic education and the thorough mastery of one trade. If we do not begin somewhere there is bound to be a continuance of our wardship of the Indian. Never will ideals be any higher than they are in the student just leaving school. Any delay in conferring citizenship means a consequent retrogression. Second, the "segregation" of tribal funds. It is most important that young men desiring to enter school and to use their own money shall know just how much they have. It is equally important that parents desiring to send their children to school should be enabled to know what their financial status is and from that make personal appropriations for the support of their children. This can be done if the tribal funds are broken up and accredited to the individual members of the tribes.

That note of Mr. Hall's and the resolutions which accompanied it, I move—I do not suppose even a motion is necessary—be referred to the Business Committee, as a matter of course. (Applause.) I do not suppose it is proper for me to make the other motion, because that will have to come before the Committee, but I hope the gentlemen I have mentioned will see their way clear to come to some agreement and present some definite plan for the Conference to act on. (Applause.)

DR. PAUL DESCHWEINITZ, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: I wish to refer again to the first paper of the morning in regard to the difficulty of securing efficient teachers in the Indian schools. It was pointed out in a subsequent paper that the great difficulty is the smallness of the salaries. We all deplore that. As a matter of fact, if the average salary is something over \$600 per annum and a dwelling, it is probably more than the majority of our public school teachers receive in the lower grades. It is also fully equal to that of many of the missionaries in the Indian Service. I do not believe that it would be possible for the Government to pay any salary which would secure efficient teachers if they go into the work for the sake of the salary. I think it is essential that the appeal should be made to the missionary spirit; that the men and women who go into this service should have behind them something more than the mere desire to earn a living; they must have the distinctly altruistic motive. Now I have a thought in mind which may seem to you very unpractical; none the less I am going to ex

press it. We have in connection with all our churches today, young peoples' societies. These young people are being constantly urged to make the best use of their lives in altruistic work, and yet I venture to say that this advice is dissipated and lost because the vast majority of our young people have no idea of how to carry out that advice practically. Now would it be possible for the Indian Bureau to formulate a brief circular setting forth the requirements of a teacher in the Indian Government Service, place that into the hands of the central officers of our various church young peoples' societies and let them point out to these young people in that age or period of their life when they will be looking forward to definite life work: "You may not want to be a minister, you may not want to be a foreign missionary, but here is a chance to do real altruistic work under our own flag, in our own country, under these conditions; so and so you must do, to take the civil service examination, then after that you are eligible for appointment." The civil service examination per se will never call together a supply of men and women actuated by the missionary spirit, but if you could, perchance, in this wise, get hold of young men and young women who really want to make their lives count, you possibly could draw forth a body of men who would not think only of the salary but would really work for the upbuilding of our Indian children. I do not believe that the office at Washington would be flooded with undesirable applications. I think in that way we might perhaps get a body of men who could meet the needs. (Applause.)

MISS EDITH M. DABB, Secretary for Indian Work of the Y. W. C. A.: May I say something on that line? I visit colleges all over the country and I do not suppose there is anyone who has talked more in normal schools throughout the country than I have on the subject of the openings in Indian schools for teachers, because I have been asked to do so by the Department and because of my interest in the Indian schools. There are certain questions which the women always ask. The subject of salary always comes up. I think we do not realize how many women today have families they have to help support or how great their burdens are, and the women who are going out from the large normal schools with the training that is needed, many of them have younger brothers or sisters, or have home obligations which they must meet.

Then another thing they ask me is, what about their chances for study? What about the vacation time? I tell them there is but one month's vacation; the rest of the summer has to be put in supplying for the cook, canning fruit, looking after the laundry, etc., and that they cannot get away for study without a great extra expense. So they hesitate because they want what they call educational leave, which is granted to some extent, more than it

used to be in the Service, but not as fully as it is in the public schools of the country. The vacations or arrangements for vacations are not sufficient.

And then the third thing is the question of how they are to know what they are to do, just the subject which the Chairman brought up, of not having any training for the work, no place where there is training. I had a letter the other day from a girl in California, saying, "I am going to teach among the Sioux; I have a position to teach and I do not know a thing about the Indians. Is there any place, or can you write me a letter telling me something of the problems which come up in Indian work?" As you imagine, I could *not* write a very lengthy letter. I have thought many times that if there were some sort of an interstate training course or perhaps in some one or more of the large state normal schools in the middle west there could be a short course of training for teachers going into the Indian Service, there would be many of the normal school graduates who would enter it. There of course the subject of salaries, of vacations and all that, would adjust itself. Women must be made to feel that it is a profession which is worthy of their taking up, worthy of their giving their lives to, and a profession which really is recognized by educational people throughout the country as one worthy of being studied. (Applause.)

MR. ARTHUR C. PARKER, Secretary Society of American Indians: It may be of some interest to the Conference to learn, in connection with the subject of the morning, some of the recommendations of the Sixth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians, held recently at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

It is not my intention to read the whole platform, but simply those planks which are consistent with the topics of the morning.

After the preamble, the platform reads:

1. We believe that the time has come when we ought to call upon the country and upon Congress to look to the closing of the Indian Bureau, so soon as trust funds, treaty rights and other just obligations can be individualized, fulfilled or paid. It should be seen that the Indian Bureau was never intended as a permanent part of the Interior Department, but merely to perform a temporary function. With the progress and education of Indians, they should be invested with the full privileges of citizens without burdensome restrictions. As the jurisdiction is removed, the books of the Bureau should be closed until there is a final elimination. As citizens and taxpayers struggling side by side with other Americans, we are willing to entrust our liberties and fortunes to the several communities of which we form a part.

2. *Schools should prepare for citizenship.* It is believed that the preparation and introduction in Indian schools of the new vocational courses of study marks an epoch in Indian education. Furthermore, we cannot urge too strongly upon Congress that provision should be made and the Indian pupils encouraged to make use of the Federal schools merely as stepping stones to attendance in white schools where contact with other American youth makes for patriotic, competent citizenship. Furthermore, all Indian pupils over 21

years of age, having completed a prescribed course of study, should be deemed fully competent, given control of their own property and thrown upon their own resources.

3. *Race hygiene is important.* We commend all efforts to improve sanitary and health conditions and to save the lives of Indian babies, which efforts have already resulted in greatly reducing the death rate. We trust that the health campaign will continue unabated until the baneful effects of reservation life and ignorance shall have been wiped out for both infants and adults.

4. *Alcohol and drugs should be avoided.* We commend the efforts of the officials of the Bureau and other departments for the suppression of the liquor traffic among Indians, and we urge upon our own people the adoption of habits of total abstinence which we are convinced are conducive to happiness and prosperity. We urge unequivocally upon Congress the passage of the Gandy Bill to prohibit the commerce in and use of the Peyote drug among our people, because of its known baneful effects upon the user's mind and morals.

5. *Former principles reaffirmed.* We reaffirm the principles so ardently and justly urged by former Conferences of the Society. We reiterate our pleas made in our Denver, Madison and Lawrence platforms, calling for a definition of the legal status of the Indian, for the individualization of trust funds and the early adjudication of all tribal claims. We renew our appeal made to the President of the United States in December, 1914.

This platform of the Society of American Indians supplements, I think, effectively, the resolutions of the students' council, held at Estes Park, just read by Dr. Abbott. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is exceedingly interesting to have these communications from societies composed of Indians themselves.

REMARKS BY ALBERT C. HILL, PH.D. OF ALBANY

I would like to emphasize what the Chairman said about the importance of the administration of Indian affairs with reference to minor offenses. Most of the cases that come up, so far as my experience goes, have to do with minor offenses—disorderly conduct, drunkenness, failure to attend school, etc. Now the question is, assuming that the United States Government has control in larger matters over the Indians, we will say in the State of New York, who has jurisdiction in regard to those minor offenses? It has been the custom, for a hundred years, for the Indians of New York, so far as they are under any law and order, to be under the laws of the state, and the local justices elected by the towns have jurisdiction in all cases. But those local justices will do nothing because it is a charge upon the town and they say, "We have no authority; we have no responsibility in this matter." Now, we have endeavored to solve that question, and are blocked by the idea that the United States or that somebody has authority and we do not, and we have been exercising that authority for a hundred years. Tomorrow we hope to have an explanation of why the New York Indians are a sort of a side show, and to see if we

can arrive at some working idea as to what we are going to do about them.*

They are not governed at all, and while perhaps things are bad in the West, they are just as bad in New York. If we want the Indians to be civilized, we must put them under such conditions as to enable them to civilize themselves. (Applause.)

MR. HALL: I rise for this point of information; Mr. Parker is, as I understand it, disposing of \$17,000,000 per annum and probably more; I would like to ask what salary he is receiving?

MR. REED: He receives \$5,000 per annum.

MR. HALL: I think it is a very important thing that attention be called to these things, for probably one thing more than any-

*An informal conference on the New York Indian problem was held on Thursday afternoon. Deputy Attorney General Jenks, Dr. Erl Bates, president of the Indian Welfare League of Syracuse, Mr. Larson, attorney in charge of the United States Bureau for the enforcement of the liquor laws, and Dr. A. C. Hill of the State Education Department, presented the opposing views regarding the government of New York Indians.

Judge Jenks stated the opinion of the Attorney General's Office that the State of New York has not and never has had any jurisdiction over Indians on the reservations of New York. He based his argument on Court decisions, chiefly the Kagama case. His position was endorsed by Mr. Larson.

Dr. Hill maintained that in all minor matters New York has exclusive jurisdiction over Indians within its borders and ought to exercise it with the greatest efficiency. His reasons were: first, the territory occupied by the Indians was never government land and there is no analogy between the government of New York Indians and those of the West who are on Government land; second, the jurisdiction of New York has been exercised and undisputed since Colonial days, during which time many laws have been enacted and, in a way, enforced on the reservations; third, interference of Congress in the government of New York Indians would be an infringement of State rights; fourth, the State is in a better position to govern the Indians than Congress and can do it more effectively and economically.

Dr. Bates sustained this view and gave the opinion of eminent lawyers and judges in support of it.

The question of jurisdiction over New York Indians was raised anew last winter by the introduction into the Legislature of the Kincaid bill, a very in-offensive measure, designed simply to provide effective machinery for enforcing existing laws. The need of such machinery is apparent to all. It is a well known fact that there is no effective government on the reservations of New York. The so-called Indian government is a failure and neither Congress nor the State is governing the reservations effectively. Meanwhile, the State is maintaining schools, building roads and bridges, assuming the control of sanitation without providing for the protection of its property, the enforcement of its laws or security of life.

At the conclusion of the discussion the presiding officer, Hon. Samuel Eliot, a commissioner of Indian affairs, voiced the conclusion of some that the opinion of Judge Jenks was probably good law but not right.

The Conference decided to ask Congress to co-operate with the State in clearing up the title of New York to govern the Indians within its borders. It seemed to be the general opinion of the conference that existing conditions on the reservations are inhuman and intolerable and should be remedied at once in the interests of the moral and economical welfare of the Indians.

thing else, and that is the absolutely ridiculous pay given to men who carry such large burdens. A man in the Government Service a few years ago said to me, "If they don't want me to be a criminal, let them make it possible for me to live decently, anyway."

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not like to adjourn without hearing from Mr. O. H. LIPPS, Superintendent of the United States Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

THE INDIAN'S EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

REMARKS BY MR. O. H. LIPPS

The discussion regarding the new course of study and the opportunity now afforded for Indian boys and girls in our schools, by Mr. Peairs, gives a pretty clear idea of what we are doing along that line. As he stated, we are not probably giving anything specially new; we are simply classifying, standardizing the work, taking the good things from the various schools, putting them together, getting them in shape so that we know definitely just what a boy or girl is to have each year in the industrial as well as in the academic departments.

We have heard so much talk about money, about the Indian's vast wealth, but from the point of view of the man who is trying to educate these boys and girls, wealth does not interest him. He'd rather see them come to him without a red cent, rather see them poor boys and girls than oil kings. At Carlisle, and at all the other Indian schools, it is the poor boys and girls that have the real opportunity; and we are doing the same thing today at Carlisle, and perhaps in the other schools, as was done years ago during General Pratt's administration, under the splendid Outing System he established there—providing for boys and girls to get out into white communities and into white schools and incidentally earn some money, and to learn how to do things in a way that people are willing to pay them for their work.

Now we frequently have boys and girls come to school without a penny; we pay their transportation perhaps half way across the continent, and they stay there five years and learn a trade and leave with a bank account. Just the other day a full-blooded Indian boy left after having spent five years at the school, having learned the trade of blacksmithing, with money enough that he had earned to enable him to go home and buy tools and set up a blacksmith shop of his own, which he proposes to do. Where on earth can a boy do that in our white schools? I can give an Indian boy a great deal better opportunity than I can give my own boy. To illustrate: Last year, after school closed, my oldest boy, eighteen, came to me and said, "Papa, what do you want me to do this summer?" "Work at something," I replied, "You can go down

to the print shop." "Can I earn anything there?" "No, you will only get experience." "Well, I have experience, I want to earn some money. I heard you say that you had applications for boys to go to Maine and Pennsylvania and Ohio as leaders in Boy Scout camps." "Yes, I would be glad to send you, but I can't send you because they want Indian boys." "Well, I was born in an Indian school and have grown up among Indian boys, why can't you send me? I know how to camp and can swim and row a boat." "Yes, but these people want *Indian* boys, and you don't fill the bill." I finally said to him, "You can go to Lebanon where a number of our Indian boys are employed and see if you can get a job, and remember, it is the same rule we have always had, the same understanding we have always had. When you start in any job, you are to stick to it whether you like it or not, whether there is much money in it or not, if you once undertake it you have got to go through with it. You can go over to Lebanon and get a job in the steel works." He went over and got a job there as helper to one of the Indian boys who had learned his trade at Carlisle as plumber. (Laughter.)

We have forty boys working in a big automobile factory; they are now earning at the rate of over \$50,000 a year. The company has already paid our Carlisle boys more than \$25,000 in wages during the past two years. That sounds like a big success, but I shall not be satisfied that it is an entire success until some of those boys get into high positions. They have better education and training than thousands of others in that factory some of whom are one day going to be managers of branch houses, and unless some of our Carlisle boys in the Ford factory become managers and leaders and directors of branch organizations, or managers of businesses of their own, I shall not be satisfied that the experiment is a complete success. However, I do say that the Indian boy, and the Indian girl, too, for that matter, has a better chance to become a leader, to become a good citizen, to become efficient, than the average white boy. The Indian boys and girls at Carlisle have a better chance, in many ways, than I can give my own children, and there is just one thing in this new course I want to refer to, or rather it is one thing that is not in it or in any other course of study, and that is inspiration. If we can just put into that course of study inspiration and ambition, if we can only get into the minds of our Indian boys and girls the determination, the zeal and desire to succeed, to be somebody, to get to the top and feel that they have the same chance as any other boy and girl in this country, then indeed we shall have a pretty good course of study. (Applause.)

There being no further discussion the conference then adjourned until evening.

Second Session

Wednesday, October 18, 1916, 8 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are all familiar with the artistic picture of the Vanishing Race, a single file of mounted Indians disappearing into the twilight. Tonight I gather that we are to be assured that the Indian is not a vanishing race, and we are to hear on this subject from DR. L. W. WHITE, the superintendent of the Lac du Flambeau Indian School in Wisconsin. (Applause.)

THE INDIAN IS NO LONGER A VANISHING RACE

ADDRESS BY L. W. WHITE, M.D.

At the Panama Pacific Exposition held in San Francisco last year, there was placed in a prominent part of the grounds a statue that attracted a great deal of attention. The subject was an Indian with everything to indicate that he was worn and weary and had abandoned all hope. The forlorn and dejected figure was mounted upon a pony which was in every detail in perfect harmony with his rider. The title of this pathetic piece of statuary was "The End of the Trail." It faced the West and was very near the brink of the Pacific Ocean. The author had evidently intended to indicate that the "Noble Red Man," after having passed from the Atlantic Seaboard across the continent, first having been halted at various places in the passing, and segregated upon small reservations, each growing smaller and smaller until at last he had reached the extreme limit of his career by coming to the end of the continent—to him the end of the world. In a word, it pictured the last of a dying race.

One Sunday during August, 1915, while the conference of Indian workers was in progress, many of the churches of San Francisco held services at which the theme was "The Indian and his Condition," and at almost all these services the ministers spoke of the pathetic significance of this statue, and were unanimous in proclaiming, "Lo, the poor Indian is fast passing from our midst. We have with us but a short time the Indian, a dying race."

This was not a new idea. For a great number of years we have had chanted into our ears the facts concerning a dying race until we have become well accustomed to it, and, I fear, have commenced to take it as a matter of fact. For it was true, the number of Indians was becoming smaller each year, and this was largely due

to the faulty manner in which he had taken up the white man's civilization. He was taken from a domain as large as the continent itself and compelled to occupy very restricted areas before he was taught the proper rules of sanitation. The bow and arrow were supplanted by the rifle and high explosives before he was taught the proper conservation of his natural food supply which he then had a means of rapidly destroying. The white man initiated him by both precept and example into the mysteries of drowning his many troubles in a bottle of whiskey without first telling him that in that same bottle of whiskey lurked death and destruction to his mental, moral and physical being.

He was rudely introduced to and infected with our most malignant infectious diseases without having been given any adequate means for coping with them, and after having been infected was left to his own primitive methods for effecting a cure. He has been given food to which he was not accustomed without a knowledge of how properly to prepare it. To sum it up, he had been forced into a new world and compelled to live a new life without a rule or law, yet learned, by which he might adjust himself to his new surroundings.

Is it a thing to be marveled at that he should become the prey to all the ills to which mankind is heir? A race of people who had naturally been of powerful physique had been reduced to a state of weaklings, a condition of degeneracy had overtaken the former red man of the forest who had roved at will over vast areas. His habitation was now more or less permanent and in order to be healthful must be kept clean. This he did not understand nor undertake.

Children were born into surroundings which were far from sanitary, with possibly a drunken father and mother, neither of whom had made any preparation for the arrival, the care, or the maintenance of such a child. Is there any wonder such a one frequently succumbed before the end of the second summer after its advent into such a vale of tears?

Those who escaped death by a narrow margin through the years of childhood and reached manhood and womanhood arrived there too frequently only to become a subject to be preyed upon by some such disease as tuberculosis or trachoma. Too often the young Indian arrived at adolescence already scarred and disfigured by the former, and frequently blinded by the latter.

Is it so very strange, then, that these poor people for whom we had been so zealously guarding their land, their timber, their mines, their oil and gas, and possibly been negligent of their health, their lives, should finally furnish food for thought for a sculptor who would mould his thoughts into a statue like "The End of the Trail?"

The Indian *had* passed into a state of decadence and a lethal issue was imminent for the entire race when, three years ago the

present Commissioner of Indian Affairs faced the condition squarely and said, "To discover such a condition and not correct it were criminal." With this object in view every wheel in the machinery of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was set turning, to correct the conditions which had made the Indian a dying race. He said, "There is something fundamental here: we cannot solve the Indian problem without Indians. We cannot educate their children unless they are kept alive."

The great value of medical and surgical skill and service was seen and appreciated, therefore more doctors, ophthalmologists and dentists. For getting the best results from the work of the physicians, the invaluable assistance of the trained nurse was recognized and this branch of the Service was augmented and improved. There was still a broad field which had not received the attention it deserved. The Field Matron—that sturdy champion of cleaner and better homes, restored constitutions and improved health, and babies to be proud of—now came into her own.

Then came that glorious campaign to save the babies. This again originated with the Commissioner and was taken up enthusiastically by practically every employee of the Indian Service. In the Commissioner's famous letter to the field upon this subject he said in part:

"If we have an Indian policy worthy of the name, its goal must be an enduring and sturdy race, true to the noblest of its original instincts and virtues and loyally sympathetic with our social and national life; a body of efficient citizens blending their unique pose and powers with the keen and sleepless vigor of the white man. We must, therefore, renew daily our warfare against the arch foe of efficiency—disease. We must begin at the right place—not only with the infant at its mother's breast, but with the unborn generation. The new campaign for health in which I would enlist you is first of all to Save the Babies!

Statistics startle us with the fact that approximately three-fifths of the Indian infants die before the age of five years. Of what use to this mournful mortality are our splendidly equipped schools? I earnestly call upon every Indian Bureau employee to help reduce this frightful percentage! Superintendents, teachers, physicians, matrons, nurses, everyone can do something by instruction or example, the physician with his science, the nurse with her trained skill, the matron with her motherly solicitude, all of us by personal hygiene, cleanliness, and sobriety.

With this idea uppermost, all employees whose duties bring them in touch with Indian families must work in closest harmony for surrounding the expectant Indian mother with favorable health conditions before and after childbirth. The sanitation of the homes of such women should have special attention and no baby allowed to be born into an environment germinating disease, if prevention is available. The simplest rules of motherhood applied under intelligent and friendly direction would save most of the Indian babies who annually fill untimely graves. I want to send this safety, as far as possible into every home of an Indian mother, whether that home be a tepee, a tent, a log house with dirt floors or a more comfortable abode.

The crux of the matter is this: We must, if possible, get rid of the intolerable conditions that infest some of the Indian homes on the reservation, creating an atmosphere of death instead of life."

In compliance with the policy here outlined, superintendents began more thoroughly to acquaint themselves with the home conditions of the Indians of their reservations, with the object in view of eliminating, as far as possible, everything that retarded the improvement of health conditions. He found many difficulties but the reward to the faithful was certainly gratifying.

The physicians were started on systematic sanitary inspections. They found conditions which were deplorable. When such conditions were found, means for correcting them were instigated and, following up plans suggested by the physician's science and training, much was accomplished.

Appreciating the value of good teeth in relation to good health, an effort has been made to provide dental facilities for the Indians through a corps of travelling dentists. While these employees have, up to this time, been compelled to confine their efforts largely to the schools, yet they have accomplished some work among the adults, and the demands upon their services are so great that no doubt remains with respect to the appreciation of the Indians for this form of treatment. As funds permit it is hoped to increase this service more adequately to meet the demands upon it.

The trained nurse with her technical knowledge was called upon to care for the sick as only a trained nurse can. The field matron, the farmer, the teacher, in fact every field employee was soon an enlisted soldier, in this army to fight in a campaign to restore the constitution, to regain the health, to save a race that had by competent persons been proclaimed to be dying.

"Baby Shows" have become a part of every Indian fair, "Baby Weeks" and "Child Welfare Exhibits" have been carried out on nearly every reservation in the Indian country. "Mothers' Meetings" have been instituted, "Little Mothers' Leagues" formed, and other educational features have been made a part of this campaign with the idea of teaching the Indian mothers the proper way of caring for their children.

This campaign was far from being an easy one. Much was required in order that it might be carried out as planned. The hospitals were neither numerous enough nor well enough equipped to meet the demands upon them. The number of thoroughly qualified physicians in the Service was far too small. More trained nurses were needed as were also field matrons. A defusion of knowledge along lines of sanitation through the distribution of literature in the field was urgently needed. How these conditions and demands were met may be seen by the following figures:

In 1912 the medical force of the Indian Service consisted of one medical supervisor, two ophthalmologists, one physician expert, one assistant physician, eighty-nine agency physicians, and fifty-three contract physicians. This force has been increased until now it consists of three medical supervisors, seven ophthalmoli-

gists, one hundred and thirty agency physicians, seventy-six contract physicians, seven field dentists, and six field nurses.

In addition to these there are also substantial increases in the number of hospital nurses, field matrons and miscellaneous hospital employees, the exact number of which cannot be easily computed.

Besides this, note the increase of General Health Appropriation known as "Relieving Distress and Prevention, etc., Diseases Among Indians:"

Fiscal year 1911	\$ 40,000
Fiscal year 1912	60,000
Fiscal year 1913	90,000
Fiscal year 1914	200,000
Fiscal year 1915	300,000
Fiscal year 1916	300,000
Fiscal year 1917	350,000
To be requested for the year 1918	\$400,000

What has been done with this money? Here it is in part:

Hospitals built or under construction during 1914 and 1915 at the following places at a cost ranging from \$3,030 to \$48,954 each:

Blackfeet, Montana; Carson, Nevada; Cheyenne and Arapaho, Oklahoma; Mescalero, New Mexico; Pima, Arizona; Turtle Mountain, North Dakota; Navajo, Arizona; Albuquerque Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico; Fort Peck, Montana; Moqui, Arizona; Tohatchie, Arizona; San Juan, New Mexico; Spokane, Washington; Winnebago, Nebraska; Canton Asylum, South Dakota; Cherokee, North Carolina; Fort Totten, North Dakota; Cheyenne River, South Dakota; Choctaw-Chickasaw, Talihina, Oklahoma; Fond du Lac, Minnesota; Kiowa, Oklahoma; Leech Lake, Minnesota; Pine Ridge, South Dakota; Red Lake, Minnesota; Rosebud, South Dakota; Standing Rock, North Dakota; Fort Lapwai Sanatorium, Idaho; Sac and Fox Sanatorium, Iowa; Phoenix Sanatorium, Arizona; Crow Hospital, Crow, Montana; Truxton Canon, Arizona; Jicarilla, New Mexico; Crow Creek, South Dakota; Hoopa Valley, California.

These well equipped hospitals are well distributed over the Indian Country.

Besides, an immense amount of valuable literature, has been gathered and prepared in the form of pamphlets, and distributed in the field, including "Indian Babies, How to keep them Well," "Save the Babies" number of "The Red Man;" United States Health Bulletins on such subjects as Sewerage Disposal, Poliomyelitis, Summer Care of Infants, Tuberculosis, Typhoid Fever, Causation and Prevention, Sewerage polluted water supplying "Relation to Infant Mortality." A great many books and journals have been distributed to school and agency physicians; such as "Journal of American Medical Association," "Therapeutic Gazette," "Fuch's Ophthalmology," "Roseneau's Preventive Medicine and Hygiene," "Pulmonary Tuberculosis," Fishberg; and copies of Brown's "Rules for Recovery from Tuberculosis" were distributed to field matrons.

What were the results of all this expenditure of funds, enthusiasm and effort on the part of all those thus engaged in refuting the too oft-repeated statement that the Indian was a dying race?

The Indian's constitution has been restored, his health conditions improved and death rate decreased wherever there are Indians to be found. Babies who before had been born into surroundings contributing every cause for an early death now came into the world where previous preparation has been made, in a clean home or in a hospital where the mother was cared for and taught properly to care for her offspring. Besides such babies are filling happy homes where before they had proven to be the despair of heart broken parents who had seen them come only to find a place in their affections and then be taken from them by diseases they knew not how to control.

Those who had been suffering pain and blindness from the effects of trachoma have now found relief and live to bless the good Samaritan who brought this relief to their doors. The old and young are coming to realize that grewsome death lurks in filth, and that disease is spread by such agents as the common drinking cup, spitting upon floors and the presence of flies in the home.

A stalwart advocate of all things that tend to the uplift of the Indian either mentally, morally, or physically; a strong character in the Indian field who has for twenty-three years fought their battles as if they were his own, has recently said in speaking of the Indians' condition: "I have learned to be a philosopher rather than a pessimist." This man read a paper at the same conference of Indian workers before referred to, and at its conclusion spoke of, "The End of the Trail," saying the time had come to reverse the conditions there depicted, that the Indian was replacing that expression of dejection and despair with one of hope and courage, that he should now right-about-face; face eastward not westward, look upward not downward, look forward not backward, and march shoulder to shoulder with his white brother, meeting and surmounting the same difficulties, and thus achieving the same successes together. And this has proven not only possible but practical, and these very conditions do now obtain because of the greatly improved health and restored constitutions of the once enfeebled Indian.

I call your attention to these figures which have been collected by states, but exclude the Five Civilized Tribes and certain unattached Indians of California, data upon which is not at present available:

Vital statistics, 1916:

Total Indian population	209,224
Total births	6,092
Total deaths	4,570
Births over deaths	1,522

Has not this been a glorious, a beautiful, a great humanitarian success? To have reached down as it were and snatched the noble race of people from the very jaws of death, to have restored the constitutions of men and women who were falling into decay, to have given vision to those who otherwise would soon have been permanently blind, to have given that poor babe at the mother's breast its deserved chance to live! Is not this the greatest, the most ennobling deed possible for any one to accomplish? It is a thing to attract the attention and call forth the admiration of the civilized world, and certainly marks a distinct epoch of Indian history. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That is an unusually good story. The merely transient and superficial observer of things, like your Chairman, does not readily discover on the reservations that turn of the tide. There still seems, to such an observer, a great deal of disease and degradation, but it is good to know that those who live all the time with these people are able to discern the day of better things.

THE CHAIRMAN: At our opening session we had a most interesting and profitable address from DR. ALES HRDLICKA*, of the United States National Museum. He has some other matters that he wishes to bring to our attention and we shall be glad to hear him. (Applause.)

CONDITIONS AMONG INDIANS WHICH CALL FOR AMELIORATION

REMARKS BY DR. ALES HRDLICKA

I should hesitate very much to accept the kind invitation for a second appearance before you, were it not for the fact that, as a result of recent field work among the Sioux and over Minnesota, I am able to place before you a number of subjects, which have been touched upon only very slightly during this important conference, or have not been touched upon at all. But before I proceed, I should like to make a few brief references to the paper which was presented by Dr. White, on "The Indian Is Not a Vanishing Race."

My work consists in examining the Indian medically, physically and physiologically, and carries me to many of their homes, which gives me a chance to see conditions as they are; and as I am not an official in the Indian service, things are not hidden.

Now, with my knowledge of facts almost up to the present moment and in regions within so to say a stone's throw of Dr. White's

*Dr. Hrdlicka's remarks occurred in the 6th Session, but are printed here for the convenience of the reader.—ED.

school, I must protest against the extremely optimistic character of his paper. Communications before such a conference as this which will not bring before us the exact raw facts as they are, which will make all things beautiful and satisfactory, cannot but work harm. We all know that there are plenty of sighs, plenty of sores among the Indians; but take four or five government employees in relatively high positions, and present such very optimistic papers as Dr. White has presented, and what will be the result? A great many friends of the Indians are merely half friends, and some scarcely that much. They do not like to be disturbed by continuous complaints, and if they read a few communications of that nature, what will they do? They will simply fall back into self-complacency; there will be, in their opinion, no reason any more for intervention, for helping the Indian; and we shall lose their support. Also we shall make the task of the true friends of the Indian ever so much more difficult. It is better, in my opinion, if one has to go to some extreme, to be rather pessimistic than overoptimistic.

Another point raised by Dr. White on which a few words of explanation seem to be called for is his contention that the race is increasing in numbers. This is one of the direct subjects of my study. And what are the results? Is the race really increasing, multiplying, as has been reported, or is it vanishing as has been conceived by the artist at San Francisco? Now it is a curious fact that both of those conditions exist. The race of pure Indians is disappearing, the group as a whole is increasing. It may surprise you to hear that, according to a very conservative estimate, there remain probably considerably less than 100,000 pure-blood Indians in the United States; the rest of them are all grades of mixtures, ranging from almost an Indian to almost a white. The mixture, the dilution of the race, is rapidly progressing, and it is progressing, I am glad to say, in many places in a desirable way. Wherever the Indian woman has property, white men are desirous of uniting with her in marriage, and where they have united in marriage, in the majority of cases they raise fine large families and have good homes. This, and the general improving conditions among the Indians in hygiene and other respects, account for the slowly growing increase of numbers of those who have some Indian blood, but not of the real Indian.

Still, were it not for the advancing miscegenation, even the full-bloods would probably increase in numbers. They have a high birthrate, exceeding in some instances 45 per thousand per year, which among whites is only equalled in Egypt and Russia. The death rate is of course also still great; it reaches on some of the reservations, 40 per thousand; nevertheless there is in the majority of cases a little margin of excess. These are the actual conditions.

Dr. White has also given us a very imperfect and rather partial

history of the medical reforms in the Indian Service; but I shall not go into particulars. Instead I will now, with your permission, call your attention to a number of conditions that I found among the Sioux and Chippewa this spring and summer, and that exist, in a more or less aggravated form, on all reservations. I shall not make any recommendations, merely place the facts before you so that they may be borne in mind and, if occasion arises, something may be done with your aid for their improvement.

In the first place, I regret to report that a new pest is arising among the Indians along the Missouri. It has been among them in a subdued form for quite a while, but is now spreading. It is goitre.¹ Over 30 per cent of the younger and middle aged adult Sioux along the Missouri are now suffering with active throidism or goitre. This means that they are more or less debilitated, that they have high blood pressure, and enlarged heart, and that their capacity for work is reduced. Something ought to be done to counteract the spread of the disease. An investigation ought to be made into the causes of the "infection," and an effort made to find a remedy.

In the second place, I want to call your attention to the consumptives on the reservations, and in this case I am able to bring you some remarkably favorable tidings. We used to think that the Indian was so subject to tuberculosis that, once infected, he was practically lost. But recent experience everywhere is showing quite the reverse. It is showing that the Indian child, adolescent and even adult, if taken early enough in the course of the disease, and sometimes even in quite an advanced stage, and placed under proper conditions, that in a large majority of cases he will begin and continue to improve, until he can be returned to his home as practically a healthy subject. Wherever it is possible to secure proper isolation, proper treatment, and especially proper nourishment, the disease becomes attenuated, and the individual improves until frequently he is cured of tuberculosis. There is therefore, the fullest possible justification for doing everything possible for the Indian consumptive.

But there is also a sad part of this subject. There are still many consumptives today on the reservations in advanced or chronic stages of the disease, who are left largely to their own poor devices, who receive but little assistance, and who are permitted to infect others, just as used to be the case a decade ago. The old fashion of spitting on the floor or into the fire has been supplanted by giving the consumptive Indian a tin can in which to expectorate, which he does faithfully. But during summer, flies alight freely on these cans and spread the infection. I cannot but regard the

1. See preliminary report on this subject by the speaker in *Science*, August 11, 1916, pp. 203-4.

tin can as an unclean, pernicious innovation and it ought to be done away with as soon as possible.

Another sad page from the Indian book is that which concerns the blind. You have heard Mrs. Newton* refer to the same subject among the Blackfeet, and conditions are equally bad elsewhere. Now, among the Indians it does not mean, like among us, that if somebody is overcome by such a misfortune, his relatives will take care of him, perhaps even better than before; that is not the Indian point of view, it is not his custom. The custom, bred of necessity, is still largely everyone for himself. The blind person is often left in misery and filth, and the cases are really most pitiable. Something must be done for the blind, helpless, almost abandoned individuals.

And there is a class of Indians whose plight is even worse if possible, than that of the blind and whose case calls urgently for careful and early attention and some remedy. They are the old Indians. Many of these, besides being aged, are also more or less blind. What shall be done with these people? Their relatives are not yet capable of taking care of them. Those of you who know Indian history, know that the Indians were in the habit, from necessity, and not viciousness, when a person grew very old and helpless, to abandon him to his fate, or even kill him. They placed him in a little hut, with some water and nourishment, and left him to die there as soon as his food was exhausted or as soon as wild animals reached him and tore him apart. Or they dispatched him with a club. The custom was so rooted in the nature of the Indian that if you read the Jesuit relations, you will find cases where the old Indian begs his sons to dispatch him because he has reached the age where he cannot provide for himself any more and is an impediment to others. I have myself seen yet a case of such an abandonment of a helpless sick elderly woman among the Hualapai. People who have had such a habit almost up to this time, cannot be expected to suddenly change their view points about the old people and take care of them. As it is, an old man, an old woman, even though they have relatives, are often practically abandoned. You will find them in filthy huts or corners, not seldom apart from the rest of the family, and usually suffering from vermin, privation and various body disorders. If they receive rations, there are always some other old people or needy relatives who come and help them to consume the food, so that sometimes within a day or two they have nothing left. Many of these cases are most pitiful and something must be done in the future for them. Some efforts for the improvement of their condition have already been made; there are, on some of the reservations, "homes" for old people; but there is something about these

*See proceedings of Sixth Session.—Ed.

homes which does not appeal to the Indian. The Indian does not want to go to the home. What the conditions to which he objects are must be studied, and remedies applied. On many reservations, however, there is no approach even to such homes.

This concludes my remarks, except that I should recommend most strongly, for the Commissioners of Indian Affairs themselves, or better still for a duly appointed and qualified special commission, to make a survey of these and other unfavorable conditions on all the reservations, to make a general survey which will bring out the exact facts. As in everything else, if we are to progress, the very first object must be to gather all the facts, and they cannot be gathered from individual or agents' reports. They must be investigated and reported upon systematically and specially, in other manner than is being done today. Then I believe it will be easier to find the remedies for many of the ailments of the Indian. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is another reason why the Indian is not a vanishing race, the economic reason. A couple of years ago, just as an illustration, I was on the Quineault Reservation out on the Pacific Beach. They thought they had struck oil on the Reservation, and every white man in western Washington who was out of a job wanted to be enrolled as a Quineault Indian; well, that is not a vanishing race. (Laughter.) There wasn't any oil there, but the officers in that region were busy for a month in rejecting these applications and informing these reasonably pure white men that they could not be enrolled as members of the tribe.

But now we are going to hear about a band of Indians where they have struck oil and my own well beloved chief, HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR., Chairman of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, is going to tell us something of the fate of that most unfortunate of all Indians, the one that does not have to work for a living. (Applause.)

THE PAUPERISM OF RICHES—AN INDIAN PARADOX

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR.

The story which Dr. Eliot told us this morning with regard to his friends in San Francisco and the title by which he allured them to the dinner of the Chamber of Commerce, is the excuse for my title this evening, although, as Dr. Eliot has indicated, the real subject is some personal observations made during last June among the Indians on the Osage Reservation. Those of you who have studied the map of Oklahoma will recall a somewhat triangular shaped tract which seems to be singularly free from place names and other similar designations, lying just to the west of the Five Civilized Tribes and extending southward from the Kansas boun-

dary. It is sometimes marked The Osage Nation, sometimes Osage Reservation. That region, aggregating about a million and a half acres, not quite as much as the areas combined of Delaware and Rhode Island, is the region to which, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1866, the Osage Indians were removed from their former dwelling place further to the north and east, in Kansas and possibly to some extent in western Missouri. Originally this tract of land was part of that included in the Cherokee Nation, and under the Act of 1873, \$1,656,000. of money in the United States Treasury belonging to the Osages, was transferred on the books to the credit of the Cherokees in payment for this tract of land, approximately, as you will observe, a dollar an acre. It lies west of the ninety-sixth parallel and is bounded southward and westward by the Arkansas River. At that time nobody thought that the ground ever could be of much, if any, value. Very little of it is capable of cultivation. It is, in places, rough and rolling, although there is a comparatively small amount of arable land along some of the river bottoms. Thither, then, the Osages were removed and there they have remained ever since.

I do not want to burden you with statistics, but it may interest you to know that, all told, there are about 2,230 Osage Indians; that of this number, in the neighborhood of 850 are full-blood; the balance are of a greater or less degree of admixture; that about ten per cent of the total live entirely off of the reservation and that of those who do live on the reservation under the provisions of the Act of Congress, the very great majority are segregated into three town sites, the most important of which is Pawhuska, a little to the east of the center of the reservation. On this town site for the Indians of one hundred and sixty acres, dwell a majority of all the members of the tribe. This town of Pawhuska is not to be confused with the white town of about 5,000 people which closely adjoins it. The other two Indian villages are Hominy, lying to the south of Pawhuska and Grayhorse, lying off to the west. At Hominy there is also a white town whilst Grayhorse is not far from the white town of Fairfax, which is only five or six miles away. Under the Allotment Act of 1906, these town sites were provided for and the attempt seems to have been made to get the Indians to live in these villages rather than out on their respective allotments.

Under that act of 1906 the whole of the reservation was allotted each Indian having approximately 660 acres of ground; in other words, there is the homestead allotment and the surplus allotment, divided into 160-acre tracts with the small surplus of twenty acres.

We hear the Osages spoken of as the richest people on the face of the earth. That does not mean that there are the phenomenal individual riches of the sort that were referred to by Judge

Allen this morning, for the reason that his Allotment Act of 1906 very wisely provided that, for the term of twenty-five years, the mineral wealth should belong not to the surface owner but to the tribe as a whole. The result is that the bulk of the great wealth which has arisen from the development of the oil and gas deposits which exist at least in the eastern part of the reservation, belongs to the tribe as a whole and hence can properly be divided per capita, for each enrolled member of one tribe shares equally in it. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the estimated wealth of this tribe, as of the close of the last fiscal year, was \$23,109,432, or something over \$10,000 apiece for every man, woman and child. Now let us bear clearly in mind that it is only the eastern section, not one-half of the reservation, that has been exploited for oil and gas. The whole of the western part of the reservation, considerably over one-half of it, while apparently in the oil region, has never yet been developed, so that what the real wealth is, is as yet a matter of conjecture. What it may be can be gathered from the results of the recent sale of oil leases which was conducted by Secretary Lane personally in conjunction with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Mr. J. George Wright, the Superintendent of the Osage Agency. In April last, after long discussions and hearings lasting many, many days in Washington, there was a sale of the Indian oil wells on the Osage Reservation. The smaller wells aggregating about 15,000 barrels per day, were sold at a bonus of \$2,058,000. Later, in June, the remaining larger wells aggregating 7,000 barrels were sold at a bonus of about \$1,000,000, these sums being paid down and entirely apart from the royalties which are now being received by these people. They get one-fifth of the oil and three cents per 1,000 feet for the gas.

Since I have been here at Mohonk, a gentleman who is usually well-informed on Indian affairs made the statement to me that he had understood that the annual amount which these Indians have been receiving during recent years from their oil and gas leases had run to some \$6,000 or \$7,000 apiece, per annum. They have been enough, in all conscience, but fortunately they have not reached any such sum as he indicated. During the year 1913 there was received by these Indians per capita payments covering their royalties and also the interest on the funds in the United States Treasury, of \$511.14; in 1914, \$990.88; in 1915, \$453; in 1916, \$575.93; and since the thirtieth of June last there have either been made or are about to be made payments from the bonus received from the April bonuses, \$922 per capita; from the June bonuses \$527 per capita and the usual quarterly payment of about \$250., making in round numbers, \$1,700. since midsummer. In addition to these sums there have been \$1,398 paid out from the United States Treasury on account of funds there, to a certain number of the Indians from whom restrictions have been removed.

We have then in the Osage country an opportunity to study the result of great wealth when placed in the hands of an uneducated people, who have had neither the training, the experience nor the education to grapple with the new problems which with some degree of suddenness they have found themselves confronted. Remember it is only a very few years since oil was first discovered there. I think any one who will examine the situation at first hand will agree with me that the Red Man is not very different from the White Man when it comes to meeting such an emergency. In the Osage country the experience of the sons of many rich men in our much vaunted and so-called civilized communities are being repeated. The waste and extravagance may take somewhat different forms, but in principle they are essentially the same in our metropolitan communities among the class to which I am referring, as they are among the oil wells of Oklahoma. Human nature is very much alike everywhere, and the Osages are going on about as stupendous a joy ride as you can find between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The figures I have mentioned may seem small. But they apply to each individual and it must be recollected that where there are half a dozen members of a family, the aggregate for each home mounts up to very material sums. Can we blame the Osage if he does not desire to work? The fact is he is as close to Anglo-Saxon characteristics in that connection as most of the rest of us are; he has a great desire to dodge work if he sees anything that looks like it coming his way. Who has not, when he doesn't have to, either from a moral sense or a sense of necessity? Accordingly when, in the school, the course was introduced in dressmaking, the Osage girl said "I have two or three white dressmakers down town; I am not going to learn to sew; why should I?" If an Osage man has a couple of ramshackle ponies why shouldn't he hire two white men to take care of them for him and give them such exercise as he does not care to give them himself? Why shouldn't the Osage woman, with her little girl, who wants to go around the block in Pawhuska and buy French ribbons, pay \$2 for an automobile to take her about as far as from here to the dining-room and back? Who wouldn't, if he had his pockets full of money? And who wouldn't stay feasting all the time if that was the way he had been brought up? We were at a feast that was given by an old gentleman on the occasion of his grandson's return from a boarding-school further to the north (I am not sure whether it was Chilocco or which one it was now), where there was a variety of accommodation; there was an enclosed pavilion with nice mosquito netting around it, with tables down the center and seats for the more aristocratic persons to occupy, and then some other booths where you could sit on the ground and dip out of the common dish and eat the jerked beef which had been dried and smoked in the sun

the day before, which operation we had seen going on with the usual accompaniment of an Indian fiesta.

I don't think that we can blame them; it is the result of the treatment which we have given to them, which, in this instance has consisted in the same cruelty that very rich men are supposed to perpetrate upon their children in giving them all sorts of pleasures which they were far better to get along without.

Naturally the sort of life which they lead is not calculated to increase the regular attendance at school. According to the figures of the 30th of November last, there were 903 children of school age that were classed as Osages; of that number 128 were enrolled in the boarding-school at Pawhuska, 19 in non-reservation schools and 32 in mission schools, making 179 in Indian schools. Five hundred six were enrolled in public schools, 74 in private schools, there were about 144 that were not accounted for in any way. We found that the boarding school at Pawhuska was the center of great dissatisfaction and much criticism on the part particularly of the part-bloods. It is supported out of funds of the Osages under the Act of 1906, which provided it was to continue for ten years. This school is located in the outskirts of the town of Pawhuska, on a very beautiful site with about 150 acres of ground and excellent modern buildings. The full-blood Indians, to a man, are in favor of the continuation of that school. The part-bloods are mostly opposed to it because they say that they are paying taxes for the support of the public schools, that the children can go to the public schools and therefore they are being taxed twice for supplying educational facilities. Experience has shown however that this enrollment in the public schools is largely nominal and that the Indian children do not get along very well in the public schools in the Osage country. Under the Act of 1906 this boarding school will be closed on the 31st day of December of this year unless there is further Congressional enactment. The Indian Bureau has strongly recommended appropriate legislation, but I believe as yet Congress has not adopted the measure, although I think it has passed one House.

A brief consideration of the financial points involved in this controversy, may not be out of place. The total value of the school plant, if it were sold, is so very small (probably about \$60,000), as compared with the \$23,000,000 the tribe is worth, that the monetary argument seems scarcely a weighty one when the good that the school is really doing is considered. As a boarding school the cost last year was about \$312.50 per pupil, which is not excessive, all things considered. The value of the property if sold and divided among the tribe would be only about \$25 per capita. With all the need there is of education, it would be a crime to discontinue this school.

Notwithstanding all the resources of these people, many of them

are hopelessly in debt. It is possible for an Indian under those conditions to owe \$30,000, as we were told that some of them did at least, and almost all of them owe smaller sums. It is hard to realize that that is the condition. With the coming into their hands of these large sums of money which by law must be paid to them, and have to be paid to the parents on account of the children, over and as to which the Indian Bureau has no discretion whatever, it is difficult to see how conditions in that respect can be improved. Congressional legislation is necessary in order to authorize the Bureau properly to hand out this money to these people who are not able to look after themselves, in such a way that the money may be expended for their best good. Now, in this connection, just what has happened to these payments of the last few weeks? I had a letter a few days ago from Mr. Wright, the Superintendent of the Agency, in which he said he thought at that time, which was before the last payment had been made, that at least seventy-five to one hundred additional automobiles had been purchased by Indians. During the same period I am also informed that a very few bank accounts had been opened, and it is a good thing to hear of that, although it is quite the exception.

The question of peyote was one that we found a very active one among these Indians. I do not care about going into the discussion of that this evening, and possibly I should get myself into hot water if I were to say some of the things which I heard in the Osage country. Undoubtedly however there is in connection with the use of peyote, a cult or religious performance which should be very carefully investigated and the effect of it fully understood before we can deal with the question of peyote with wisdom and without doing a great deal of harm.

I expect those of you who have been familiar with Osage conditions have expected to hear from me something on the subject of the liquor traffic. Before I went there I had been told that the typical Osage Indian was a drunken Indian and that, wherever one went, they must expect to see drunken Indians lying around the roads and streets. While we were there we were in various parts of the reservation from Pawhuska to Grayhorse and down to Hominy, traveling on the railroads and by automobiles, that is, when the automobiles would go, because, while the Indians had excellent machines, the Agency motor was one which balked at every mud hole and there are at least a thousand deep mud holes to every mile of Osage country road. After this experience covering a number of days I can say truthfully that in the whole of that time I only saw one Indian that I had the slightest suspicion of having had any intoxicants and he was not by any means drunk, although he seemed to take rather kindly to me, which was an indication that he hadn't quite his right senses. (Laughter.) Mr. McDowell, the secretary of our Board who was along with

me, saw one drunken man and he was a white man and in the hands of the police, being hustled off to the lock-up. Now this is a most remarkable change and has come about within a very short time. About two years ago the Commissioner of Indian Affairs came to the conclusion that the time had arrived when the Osage situation must be cleaned up, and through the most efficient superintendent of that agency, Mr. J. George Wright, he got word to certain of the leading business men in the town of Pawhuska that if they expected the next quarterly payment to be made to the Indians, it was necessary for the bootleggers to be run out and for Osage County to be dry. At first they did not quite understand that sort of talk, but they soon got it through their heads that the best thing for them to do was to cooperate with the Bureau in its endeavors to get rum out of Osage County. Accordingly a committee of citizens was formed who offered a reward of \$50. for the arrest and conviction of anybody who was found supplying Indians with whiskey in the town of Pawhuska. After there had been three or four arrests the matter came to be understood and, while the work was by no means finished, it is a little amusing to see how righteous the citizens of Pawhuska are today in their attitude toward the liquor traffic. We may have been blind and not observed in the situation that we should have seen, but I wish to repeat that I do not believe the liquor enforcement officers of the United States Government have ever done a better piece of work than they did in Osage County. It is a piece of work that is so thoroughly done and is keeping up being thoroughly done, for I understand only tonight that two prominent business men are on the verge of jail for having supplied liquor to the Indians within a few days.

I wish you could see the pictures of the earnest men, Indians, that we saw, on two occasions when we had large meetings with them in which they pleaded with us to do something to help to protect the full-bloods. The tribe itself is hopelessly divided; the full-bloods on the one side, the part-bloods on the other, and if there is anything that this Conference can do by way of urging on Congress the enactment of proper laws which will enable the Indian Bureau to protect those poor old full-blood Indians, certainly one of the great purposes of the holding of these conferences will be accomplished. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We come now, friends, to what, to your Chairman at any rate and to a considerable number, I know, of the members of the Conference, is the most important discussion on our program. This Conference has always been composed very largely of people who recognize that the problem of dependent peoples is not merely a material problem, but that fundamentally it is a problem of moral and spiritual vitality. We believe that behind

all of our endeavors for the people that we would benefit, there must be that permanent dynamic which we can only find in a constructive spiritual idealism. We are a people who naturally, I think, believe in human nature and believe in the capacity of humanity for freedom and happiness. We believe that back of our own endeavors for economic and material good, for health, for education, there must be some larger motive power, and that whatever may be our misadventures or mistakes, still "underneath are the everlasting arms."

We come now to a consideration of the work of Christian missionaries among the Indian peoples and we pay our tribute of respect and gratitude to the men who hold these difficult commissions. They are not, all of them, men of conspicuous intellectual abilities or unusual gifts. They carry no banners and they do not march to the blare of trumpets. They win their way just by purity of purpose and life and self-forgetting devotion. Not until the day when the secrets of all hearts are revealed will it be known how much these men have meant in the life of the dependent peoples that they serve. It is the glory of the missionary associations that commission and send these men out, that they are thus able to kindle these inextinguishable and communicable fires.

We shall be glad to hear now from DR. CHARLES L. THOMPSON Chairman of the Home Missions Council. (Applause.)

INDIAN PROGRESS

ADDRESS BY CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D.D.

I suppose it is a fundamental proposition in this presence that the Indian needs religion as much as the white man, though, when I read the European cablegrams in the morning papers, I am disposed to say, almost as much as the white man, not quite. (Laughter.) The colonial history began with a splendid missionary adventure. Your state, by the way, Mr. Chairman, gave a brilliant illustration of Indian missionary achievement in the persons, especially, of two men, John Eliot, from Boston, and Jonathan Edwards, near Boston, men of high intellectuality; John Eliot translating the Bible into the Indian tongue, so that the first Bible printed on this Continent was for the Indian race, and Jonathan Edwards, the greatest metaphysician and theologian, I suppose, this country ever produced, spending part of the day in writing the greatest theological treatise perhaps that ever was written on this Continent, and the rest of the day in giving the alphabet of the Gospel to the little band of Stockbridge Indians. How well we began our missionary enterprise; and I never drive past that little Indian cemetery at Stockbridge and see that shaft on which is engraved, "In memory of the Stockbridge Indians, friends of our

fathers," but my heart gives a quickened throb as I think of how those friends of our fathers were pushed back from one state to another;—up among the forests of central New York, out afterwards to the borders of Indiana, that faithful little Christian band of Stockbridges, and finally up to the shores of Green Bay, in Wisconsin, where they made their last stand, in depleted numbers but keeping their faith sternly with their people and their God. And when, a year ago, in the City of Milwaukee, I saw the old Stockbridge Bible which, from generation to generation, had been passed on and kept as sacredly as the Israelites kept the Arc of the Covenant, I think how splendid have been the results of early missionary labors. But then you know there came this century of suffering to them and dishonor to us; they were driven from one point to another, now left alone in the desert and now herded in encircling bayonets; how they gradually lost whatever faith they had ever had and again became savages. You say savage? Aye, and cruel? Yes. Merciless? Yes, merciless. You get your picture of Indian cruelty from Parkman and Cooper and the rest of them. Be careful, or the genius of history will make you read pages from Armenian and Belgian history of yesterday that will make you pallid for our Christian civilization and will mitigate your judgment on the savageness of the American Indian. Left alone—who can stand that? Look at the mountaineers of Tennessee and Kentucky, with feuds as savage as those of the American Indian—because they were left alone. But now we have come to better days and I am to tell you a little of that progress. We have come to days when the Government felt its way back to the days of William Penn and his constructive policy for the Indian, and when the Church felt her way back to John Eliot and Jonathan Edwards and John Sargent, and determined that, by cooperative endeavor of State and Church, the miseries and dishonors of the past should have an end and the American Indian should have a chance. Is he fit for that program? Will he respond to it? I think so, and I give you two reasons:

First, his physiognomy. No man who looks at the bearing and face of a typical American Indian but must feel, "There is a man, no matter what lapses, no matter how he has failed, aye, no matter where he came from." I don't know where he came from, perhaps the Aleutian Islands over the broken arches of an intercontinental bridge along which he walked, from nations which have recently shown a marvellous capacity for civilization, or perhaps from mound builders whose ancient work is the admiration of the world. And though he may have slipped and fallen, there he is, the man for whom you would predict a good career if he had a good American chance.

And my second reason is based on the facts of history—we had them this morning somewhat in that luminous paper of Mr. Peairs

and the others giving the educational advance that has been made by the Indian in the last twenty years, aye, in the last ten years especially. The educational process now going on for the American Indian, devised and fostered by the American Government, is much to the praise of that Government, as is the home building which has been alluded to today. I could take you to a row of cottages in the village of Sitka, in Alaska, built for and by the Indians from that Indian school, where they have gathered their families and established Christian houses, that would not do dishonor to a New England village, orderly, tasty and attractive. And that home building is going on among all the tribes of the Indians in greater or less measure; and in proportion as that saving agency is reached in any tribe, they are well on the way toward a moral and religious development.

And then agriculturally; we have not had many statistics given today about the extent to which agriculture has come in among the Indians and helped them. Farming is hard work. I am something of a farmer myself. In the summer I try to extract potatoes out of New England rocks, and I can assure you it is something of an undertaking, but it is not so difficult as the endeavors which our Indian people have been making for the last generation, to make bricks without straw; that is, raise wheat without water. And in so far as they have succeeded, they certainly are a credit to their own thrift and enterprise and to those who have been their teachers and leaders.

And finally, the religious development. All of these interests are religious. We have come to a broader conception than your John Eliot had in Boston of what religion means; no longer merely an endeavor to get to Heaven, to save a man from the wreck, but a purpose to save the ship and to save communities in every interest which belongs to a man or to a family or a community. That is the ultimate purpose of religion, and therefore home building, education and agriculture come in as parts and factors.

But to speak more definitely of the strictly religious and missionary character of our work. About one-half of the American Indians have had the Gospel given to them in some form; Protestant or Roman Catholic. I think there are about 177,000 perhaps, including the Indians of Alaska, who could be classed in that way, and then there are some 50,000 who are in a pagan condition, never having had any message or perhaps never heard the name of God except as it fell in an oath from the lips of some trader or traveler. The response which the Indians make to honest missionary effort is fine. You remember that familiar story of those four Indians from Oregon who came to St. Louis to find the white man's book. You remember two died and the other two were going back, and before a company of St. Louis people the older one of the two said, "We are going home with broken hands and

empty; we came to find the white man's book; we have seen everything else, but no book, and when we go on the long trail to our home and the council fire is lit and the old braves gather and ask 'Where is the book?' we will say 'We have seen everything but we haven't the book;' and then the old chiefs will go out silent—for they haven't the book that will show them the white man's road." My friends, I don't know anything in the oratory of any language, that surpasses in pathos and real oratorical power, the speech of that old Indian. They are responsive to the appeal of the book. I could give you many illustrations; let me give you one. It was midnight down on the Pima Reservation, when I came to the lonely home of Charles Cook, our missionary hero, who had given a generation of service to those Pimas. He said "Tomorrow at twelve o'clock the Indians will come and you shall preach to them." I said "Tomorrow is Thursday, not Sunday." "Yes, I know." "Well, the Indians won't come; the thermometer is 100 in the shade and no shade and they won't come." But he said "You wait." Before twelve o'clock the horizon began to darken with them; they came from every direction and they all came, the braves and the squaws and the papooses. The church was full; and not anywhere that I preach, do I preach to a more earnest, attentive, receptive, responsive audience than I had among those four or five hundred Pimas. They were so responsive that after the benediction they brought all the papooses to me to be blessed. These stories could be indefinitely extended, of the response which the Indian makes to real missionary endeavor, and it ought to give this Conference, as it does all the representatives of missions in the country, an abundant encouragement for the work as they go on. The work of the Home Missions Council, which I represent, is an endeavor of thirty missionary organizations in this country to do for the Indian what the Panama Congress attempted to do for Latin America; namely, map out the land, find the need, consider the forces and determine how they may be united in one common and statesmanlike purpose to cover the missionary field and reach the fifty-seven tribes. By the way, it will help to remember those figures, if we change the word tribes, to varieties, and say fifty-seven varieties of Indians, to be reached not by competitive endeavors, as I regret to say sometimes Protestants and Catholics have been guilty of, but as we are now doing, by confederating our plans and our work, assigning these responsibilities for the different tribes to different denominations, so that we may all pull together for the uplift of the American Indian. And if that is done, in a generation or less, you will see, by the help of a Government that is sensitive to its responsibilities and by the Christian Church, not a vanishing, but a great, strong band of American Indians who are fit to be Christian citizens of the American Republic. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This testimony will now be continued by **REV. A. B. CLARK**, who is the missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church among the Sioux. (Applause.)

THE PRESENT-DAY NEEDS OF THE INDIAN MISSIONARY

ADDRESS BY **REV. A. B. CLARK**

It is now a great many years since our Bishop Hare and Bishop Whipple, of the Northwest, returned from their occasional visits to the East, where, in all kinds of assemblies, they spoke always faithfully and fearlessly of the needs of the Indians and always demanded for them fair consideration. We learned not only from their own lips, but from the press and the magazines of the day, the story of the work of these conferences, and so the Mohonk Conference has been to us not only a matter of ordinary interest on behalf of the Indians, but it has been to us a subject of thought and prayer all these years, and it is, let me assure you, a great comfort to us missionaries coming from out on the frontier, to be a part of this conference and to be able ourselves to voice some of our own thoughts and feelings upon these topics before the conference.

The topic for this evening being the "Real needs of present-day activities in missions to the Indians," let me ask first who are the missionaries? Are they only those who are sent out; clergymen, bishops, priests or deacons, and the lay ministers, Catholics and Protestants, lay-readers, men and women—are they only those who are sent out on the frontier as your proxies—or are you also missionaries? Aye, are we not all? I quite agree with the word of one of the bishops of the last century, who said that all souls who called themselves Christians were members of the great missionary society of their church. All of us, then, are missionaries and all of us are consequently interested in the solution of this question, and in finding out how we can contribute ourselves in providing for the real needs of present-day activities.

First of all, it is my mind that among the real needs of present-day service of a missionary is, in a subjective sense, a more intensely live interest individually in missions, a more intense spiritual life, more constant prayer and faith, more constant meditation upon the needs of those immediately under our care and oversight, or who are our immediate neighbors in the field, be it yonder or here, more intense spiritual life interest in the individual missionary, all of us accounting ourselves missionaries in a sense, and, then, more extensive sympathy for the work of missions everywhere. I fear there has been in the past too little of that amongst the missionaries of various religious camps and communities. Today the work of the Home Missions Council, Dr. Thompson

knows so well, is extending our sympathies and bringing about better cooperation; that has been one of the real needs which is being, in some degree, now satisfied.

And then, as we look out upon the fields, the work of the missionary, we realize the truth of the statement which has been made many a time, that in all civilization the family is the unit; and we missionaries, here or there and everywhere, need to recognize this truth more clearly and become more faithful protectors of the family life. One writer has said, and we all may well remember this as we enter upon the active work of missions wherever it may be, "A cohesive family is the best germ for a campaigning nation." We can see this as we read the papers of today, whether or not we be in sympathy with any nation engaged in war, whether or not in our own hearts and minds we cannot all approve of the cause of any nation engaged in war, yet that truth is without question, "A cohesive family is the best germ of a campaigning nation." And so of a campaigning church as well, of the great church of The Living God, not recognizing its divisions. The cohesive family, the family perfectly united, strong in its unity, is the best germ of the campaigning nation and of the campaigning church. Let us keep that truth more constantly in our hearts and minds and strive more earnestly everywhere, in every state where, as citizens, we have a share in any sense in the governing of the state or of the family or of the community. All of us have duties as citizens in communities, at least to strive more earnestly to fight against the great divorce evil which has made so much trouble out in the Indian field as you know it has in other fields throughout the country and the world, striving always to insure more securely the unity, the united power and cohesiveness of each family before God and amongst men. And so, after the first need, sincerity, I put unity and cooperation amongst Christian workers.

Now out in the Indian country, really the greatest factor in the civilizing of the Indians and in training them to become good citizens has been the work of the day schools. To one who has lived amongst them and seen that work, or to one who goes out and visits, not for a day or a week only, but for months, if possible, that is readily found to be the truth. The day school, is the most important factor in laying the foundations of the civilization of the Indian tribes. Just at present we are coming to face a new condition, and one of those who has been taken from the outside, as you might say, not himself having been a regular employee of the Indian Department—an educator of experience and of skill sent to investigate the general question of what hereafter shall be done with the young men and the young women, the boys and the girls of the Indian tribes—has this question before him, what shall we do now about this question of the Indian day schools? The Department of Indian Affairs, under the direction of the Commission-

er of Indian Affairs, has been trying to enroll as many children as possible in the public schools, and now thousands of those who had been in day schools or possibly in small boarding schools, have been enrolled in the public schools, where their presence is acceptable to the children and the parents of the white children who naturally attend. We have come then to face this fact, that the Indian children, educated in the peculiar Indian day schools, must be taken up largely by the public school. As an American citizen, understanding that it is and has been the thought of the American people that our public schools must always be fostered so that in every little community and crossroads there shall be found the old red school house or the modern substitute, and that there the children of the people in the scattered communities must always be taken care of and trained, not only in the "three R's" as in old times, perhaps, but in the other more advanced studies, always I have felt that we must protect these schools, and not allow communities to think that they might be done away with and the children wait until they were of age to be sent away to boarding schools or be turned over to any other influence than that of the public school, fostered and protected by the state. And yet now I say the Indian day school system must somehow be made to coalesce with the public school system of these communities amongst whom the Indians live. So what shall be done? We hear from time to time what seem to be almost exaggerated reports of the inroads of certain diseases upon the Indians. Fortunately in that part of the country where it has been my duty and privilege to labor as a missionary, we find that there is a very small percentage of those who are not allowed to attend the schools, these substitutes for the public schools, the day schools and the reservation boarding schools. Whether that percentage be small or large, these children should be cared for. Large funds are still to the credit of the Indians of various tribes and are drawn upon very freely at times for some purposes. Sometimes, the Indians themselves now having arrived at such a degree of intelligence as to understand what is being done with their funds, object to some of the purposes for which these funds are used. They object, for instance, to having a hospital built which they think ought to be called, the Rosebud Hospital, and someone tells them it is the "Ashurst Hospital". That may be inscribed over the door, but the Indians pay no attention to that. "It is our Rosebud Hospital", they say, and although they did not consent to their funds being used for its building, they are making use of this hospital. A few days ago we had our "annual fair" out there. We missionaries must be interested in all these things for the Indians come to the missionary for all sorts of needs;—of the body, of the mind and of the soul as well. We missionaries observed at such an hospital a few days ago, at the time of the annual fair, in one-half of a day

during the fair, seventy-eight Indians came voluntarily, or else, perhaps, their parents bringing the younger children to the hospital, to receive attention. The doctor was so busy, being himself called out to the encampment, that he was at the hospital but a short time, but there was the nurse with her one Indian girl assistant attending to these seventy-eight callers, the nurse herself being obliged, of course, to prescribe as you would think a physician only should prescribe, to attend to certain cases needing expert attention, and so, when one says the Indian don't want hospitals, they are extremely mistaken about it; the Indians do want hospitals.

It is one of the great needs of missionaries, in addition to what has been said, that they should teach the Indians always to engage in honest labor. Quite a percentage already are becoming self-supporting. Teach honest labor lest the Indians, having once been feared by all their neighbors, should now be despised. In addition to loyalty to the flag, taught in all Indian schools, loyalty also to the cause of Christ, the Son of the living God, should be taught so that an Indian should be ready not only to give service to his country, as so many have done, but ready always to give service to his Leader, Christ, so that he shall reply when the call comes to him, "Here am I, send me."

From a missionary's outlook then, we most need sincerity, co-operation, a merciful consideration of the immediate educational needs, the teaching of the honor of honest labor, the teaching of a sense of responsibility and, with all, humility in the service which comes to their hands and to which they are called. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a great pleasure to welcome REV. PHILIP GORDON here; he comes from the land of the Chippewas, and if I am right, I think he is the second American of Indian blood to be ordained to the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. (Applause.)

TWO NEEDS FOR REAL INDIAN PROGRESS

ADDRESS BY REV. PHILIP B. GORDON

By way of introduction I am going to presume on your patience and long-suffering to read to you part of a paragraph from a book entitled, "From the Deep Woods into Civilization." The book was written by Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a very notable Indian. I want to read this paragraph because it suggests to me a line of thought I want to bring to your attention this evening. The Doctor is now engaged in writing a chapter called "War with the Politicians." I might add that this is a biographical sketch he

is giving us. It is a book that is scarcely one month off the press. Dr. Eastman writes:

"The same Inspector who had whitewashed the payment was directed to investigate the strained relations between the Agent and myself, and my wife who had meantime published several very frank letters in influential Eastern papers was made a party in the case. I will not dwell upon the farcical nature of the investigation. The Inspector was almost openly against us from the start and the upshot of the affair was that I was shortly offered a transfer. The Agent could not be dislodged and my position had become impossible. The Superintendent of the boarding school, a clergyman, and one or two others who had fought on our side, were also forced to leave. We had many other warm sympathizers who could not speak out without risking their livelihood. We declined to accept the compromise, being utterly disillusioned and disgusted with these revelations of government mismanagement of the Indian field and realizing the helplessness of the best equipped Indians to secure a fair deal for their people. Later experience, both my own and that of others, has confirmed me in this view. Had it not been for strong friends in the East and in the Press and the unusual boldness and disregard of personal consideration with which we had conducted the fight, we could not have lasted a month. All other means failing, these men will not hesitate to manufacture evidence against a man's or a woman's personal reputation in order to attain their ends."

I am not going to dwell specifically on any one point in the past history of my people, because we have had enough of "muck-raking," as it were. We have had enough of disagreeable facts presented to us even in the course of this short conference. Intolerable conditions have been called to our attention. On the other hand, for many years, the American people have sat in conference, have discussed, have written books and in various other ways have tried to solve the Indian problem. I imagine that if all these writings, discussions, talks, could be put within the covers of books, the world itself could not contain all the books; and yet, the problem is still with us. Now it seems to be generally admitted that the government of the Indians is working badly. I do not question the motives of the great American people, I do not question the motives of any particular man now engaged as best he knows how and to his best ability under the handicaps that tie him up. I do not question the zeal and sincerity of these men, but I do question the system under which they labor. I say that one of the *real needs*, not alone for missionary work among Indians, but for Indian progress at all, is that there must be some radical change in the methods of Indian supervision. To my mind, the time has arrived for some radical movement in this Indian business. Now the radical movement is not my solution but the solution as seen by those leaders of men that are with us tonight, men such as Professor Moorehead, who has suggested a very practical way by which we can drag this business, take it up out of what I call the slums—I hate to use that word—of politics. If this can be done, the Indians will be on their feet. When that time comes, the missionary can go out and meet the Indian face

to face and say, "I meet a free man; I do not meet a man bound up by yards and yards of red tape." The missionary himself, as things are now, has to twist around and pull here and there before he can get a fair glimpse of the Indian he wishes to serve. One of the imperative needs, it seems to me, is a change and this Conference should go on record in no uncertain tones thereon.

We should not falter or speak with half-apologetic gestures in regard to making a change in the form of administration, a change in the way of governing the wards that God hath given this nation. My first suggestion, then, if I may presume to suggest in such an august assemblage, is that the Conference go on record in some way as favoring a change in the method of managing the Indians, it being generally admitted, nay, it being a well-known fact which no man can gainsay, that the present regime, or rather, not to refer to any particular political party, the present system of guarding Indians is inadequate, incomplete, improper. How, otherwise, should we have so much robbery, how otherwise so much graft in the Indian business? I heard the expression used this morning that some men were "unscrupulous grafters." This is tautology to me; I think it is sufficient to say "grafters." (Laughter.) However, I say this; in olden times, the Indian was looked upon as being very crafty; nowadays, he is oftentimes a grafter—he is, you see, taking on some of the habits of his white neighbors. (Laughter.) This is, of course, very much to our discredit.

I appear radical in another thought that I wish to present to this assemblage; namely, a thought in the problem of Indian education. Now we heard this morning, a very splendid outline of the new Course of Study—a mere experiment that is going to be tried upon the Indians. You see Indian education is hardly out of the experimental stage yet; we are told that it will be eight years before we find out what the result of this new course of study is going to be upon the Indians. We Indians are about to be subjected to a sort of chemical analysis to find out what eight years of new-fashioned training will do for us! Indians are very useful sometimes! To my mind, speaking as a member of the Catholic Church, there is one thing omitted in this course, the omission of which I cannot pass by. This new course is very exemplary and is, as the Chairman says, a system that does credit to the people in charge, but it is *incomplete*. The most fundamental thing, the basic element in building men's character has been omitted—religion has been omitted. This is a criticism that I launch not alone against this particular course for Indians but against all systems of education that leave a man's soul to rot so to speak, while his intellect grows strong. While the mind and hands are being trained to be very skillful, the heart seems to be utterly neglected. The great Church of which I am a member and an ordained priest thinks that hand in hand with arithmetic,

with history, geography, botany and trigonometry and whatever else you teach in schools, religion must be taught. Religion must be taught every day and must find its place in our every day life, not alone on Sundays. A man trained six days a week in arithmetic and but one day in religion would be one-sixth of what he ought to be; he would not be a normal, rounded-out man; his arithmetic would be way up high, his religion just taking root.

The Catholic idea is to have day by day religious teaching—ideas in good conduct. For this reason the Catholics of this country are spending annually millions of dollars on the principle that if we want to develop the character of a man, we must teach him religion every day and not once a week.

I am not trying to impose my particular religious views on you, but I am merely suggesting what appears to me a logical position. If a person wanted to impress his own particular way of church-thinking, wanted to impress the Indians with his view, he'd give it to them every day. If you came out to my home-town, you would be exceedingly welcome, and if you founded a church there on the principles upon which you stand and in which you believe—a church which numbers among its members some of our most illustrious citizens—I would want you to found a school so that your Unitarians would grow up to be good Unitarians—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday Unitarians—and when Saturday came around they would have had their fill not only of arithmetic and history, but also of your particular teaching. I take it for granted that no religion, whatever the name, would teach evil knowingly. I suggest this to every religious body that comes out to my people—give us not alone the knowledge of how to make a living but how to save our souls; and to the Government, teach us how to be good along with the various other items that take their place in the curriculum of the schools of a country like ours. I say that this basic defect permeates the school system of this great and glorious country. Without drawing any very erroneous conclusions, I think a great deal of the social unrest, a deal of the crying social injustice, a deal of the other evils that threaten this great nation are due in part to the fact that we have neglected the heart of man in our education. We are the most divorced people, I think, outside of Japan. Witness rabid Socialism. In fact some of the most crying social injustice is within this very State of New York. Take the wide difference between the slums of New York where people are born in starvation and the mansions on Fifth Avenue! See the wide breach—the great injustice tearing our people asunder and which will eventually bring ruin to the nation—all due to the fact that men without character, men whose God is money, men who lack woefully the sense of social responsibility that God has placed upon them, are in power. Fundamentally, it is due to the fact that our religion is not as strong as our mathe-

matics. If we want to secure justice, we must start to teach it to our children, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday; we must give them religion every day in the week, and not restrict it to Sunday, one day in the week. A religiously trained child cannot be unjust, dishonest.

I place this view, to many perhaps, a radical view, before you. It is a view of that great Church, which, while John Eliot was laboring to enlighten those Indians in the immediate neighborhood of Plymouth Colony, had its Jesuit Fathers treading the wilds of Wisconsin, showing that this great Church has had, from the very beginning, the idea of lifting these people from out the darkness of paganism to the broader and better life of the world. So I say the Church that actually accomplished this task, is the self-same Church that believes in this every-day-in-the-week, a seven-day-in-the-week religion. The great crying need is religion. If missionaries would go out to the different reservations, let each church teach religion, day by day, hour by hour, if they would bring forth men of character.

I make, therefore this broad suggestion, use the method that the Catholic Church uses. Perhaps the fact that she uses it won't commend it to you at all; but that is our way and we are going to continue in that way until we receive further instructions. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: One sees with pleasure that the Mohonk spirit is getting into the churches. (Laughter.) There is a desire for cooperation; the Catholic will welcome the Unitarian, the Presbyterian finds some religion outside of the institutes of John Calvin; the Episcopalian cries for unity. Here we have not the pretensions or assumptions of any one church but the-cooperation of all.

Our last speaker is a representative of a non-sectarian Christian society, the members of which come from many Christian communions, an ancient society coming down, I think, from the seventeenth century. I am glad to present REV. ARTHUR P. WEDGE, the representative of the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America. (Applause.)

A FEW SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF INDIAN MISSIONS

ADDRESS BY REV. ARTHUR P. WEDGE

We touch in the topic under consideration the heart of the Indian problem. The success or failure of all we do or attempt, with and for the North American Indian, is determined largely by the Indian himself, as he brings our civilization to the mystic labora-

tory of his own nature, to determine whether or no there be in that civilization a spiritual element. The failure of the North American Indian to accept more rapidly and perfectly our civilization is proof, not, as some have thought and said, of the Indians' weakness and inferiority, but rather of his strength and superiority. The Indian is essentially a mystic and all his relations to the universe are shaped and colored by his mysticism. Every event of his life and every act of his life has spiritual significance. Rightly or wrongly he very early became suspicious that the predominating element in the pale-face civilization was not spiritual but materialistic, and for two and a half centuries of contact with us, with a tolerance wonderful and a patience sublime, he has been putting us and our civilization through the testing of his mysticism, and the one thing above anything else, it seems to me, that has kept him from absolute despair and has given him much of hope, has been the clear, strong, positive declaration of the missionary that the foundations of our civilization were laid deep in spiritual verities.

The story of Indian missions is a most romantic chapter of our national life. As with quickened blood I read, a boy of ten, the story of Richard the Lion Hearted, or Peter the Hermit, forty years later I read with quickened blood the story of John Eliot, founder, I think of our Society, Dr. Eliot, and of Father Marquette and the long line of missionaries that have followed them even to this day, a story of remarkable heroism. There have been, and there are small missionaries, missionaries small of heart and small of spirit, of equipment and of personality. None can doubt it or question it. There have been and there are great men and women in our mission field, great of mind and great of heart and great of heroism, worthy a place in the "White Rose of Paradise," that Dante saw; and to conserve the work of the missionary of yesterday and to make effective the work of the missionary of today, and to meet the—I know it is a hackneyed term—peculiar crisis of the missionary problem and situation, there are changes inevitably necessary in mission work, and in the four that I shall suggest to you in the next minute or two, I shall endeavor to confine myself absolutely to the topic, "Real Needs of Present Day Missionary Work among the Indians."

In front of our beautiful Art Museum in my own home city of Boston is a beautiful bronze figure. I hope that sometime this Conference will have the privilege of listening on this floor to an address by Cyrus Dallin, the sculptor. Upon a western pony is seated the figure of a Dakota Indian. There is perfect harmony between the horse and the Indian. The Indian is naked, save for sandals and breeches clout, his hands outstretched, his head uplifted. There is nothing of suggestion of a "vanishing race" or "the last of the trail" in his figure; and when, not long ago, I sat one

evening in Mr. Dallin's home, I put to him the question "Why did you give to this bit of work of yours, that particular topic, "The Appeal to the Great Spirit?" He came back quick as a flash with the answer "Because that's the Indian; he is a mystic, an individualistic mystic, and men of your cloth have too often, in the past, forgotten that fact to the injury of the Indian and the harm of your own work." The first need, therefore, is a clearer recognition on my part as a missionary of the essential mysticism of the Indian. It will help to remove some of the difficulties of my work if I recognize this; it will perhaps lead me to change my program; it will forever banish from my vocabulary, so far as the word relates to the Indian, the term "Pagan," and will enable me, as a friend, to lead my Indian friend, having a real though dim and hazy conception of the great Spirit, out into the light of revealed religion: A recognition on our part, fellow missionaries, that the Indian is a mystic.

Secondly, there is need, as I have caught something of an impression during these last years as I have gone into every part of the Indian country, of a closer relationship and a new fellowship of service between the missionary and the government school or agency superintendent. There are some superintendents utterly out of sympathy with the missionary, but they are comparatively few. There are some missionaries absolutely out of sympathy with the superintendent and his employees, and the criticisms they speak to me of the government school superintendent or agency superintendent and employees, are so picayune that I have at once a conception of the missionaries' narrowed horizon; but the majority of the missionaries are in sympathy with the work, the spirit and missionary motive of the government school employees. There are certain lines of work which these two can do together which could not be done by either alone. An outstanding problem of our missionary work is the returned student, and these two, missionary and school superintendent together, can come nearer solving that question than they have yet imagined, if they combine forces and forget the right or wrong of the System that controls Indian affairs. We spend too much time on the field, in discussion of the System. While we are under it, we should forget its wrongs and work heart to heart as missionary and superintendent.

The third suggestion or the third change—I make it more as a suggestion perhaps—is a conviction in my own mind that the efficiency of the Indian missionary, so far as his work with his Indians is concerned, would be greatly increased if he could spend three-quarters of his time in working with the whites who live in the Indian reservation or on his particular field. There is need of missionary work among the whites that are living off of the Indians, and are cutting under the missionary's work and are

neutralizing the efforts of missionary influence. There is a certain group of Indians in this State who classify people in this wise; white folks, Indians and Quakers, and the one bright spot in all of their later history has been due to the Quaker spirit that has been in the Quaker school and in the Presbyterian missionary who has worked with them. When the Presbyterian missionary of Salamanca who recently died, dear old Dr. Tripp, asked a white woman just below Salamanca to come down to listen to me and to look at my pictures, she said "Why, I never was in a church;" and when he queried a little more as to her mother's and father's and brothers' and sisters' and husband's and childrens' relation to the church, she said "None of us have ever been to church. I do remember that my mother said once she went when she was a girl, to a funeral." This is a part of the Indian missionary's problem, to solve the question of irreligious, absolutely Godless white men and women who come upon the Indian territory for what they may get out of the Indian.

My fourth and last suggestion of need has been spoken of twice tonight, therefore I may simply refer to it—a further emphasis of the unification of the Christian bodies at work for the Indian. Unless this further unification come, unless there be an enlargement of the scope and powers and privileges, and perhaps membership of the Home Missions Council, a blending more and more of our work, our work in Indian missions is doomed to something of a failure. The last ten years at least, have witnessed a widening of the horizon of the church of God, we have come to see more and more that God's work is one, and as we have caught the great sweep of his great purpose through the ages, we have come to forget little things. Beautiful was the illustration Dr. Eliot brought us this morning of the climb to the mountain top from various starting points. I have seen it, but I never have been able to understand it, a love for one's own particular regiment that would lead one to forget the great army of which the regiment was a part, and the great campaign to which that army was dedicated. When we catch the bigger vision of the purposes of the great God, we will appreciate none the less, and value none the less our regiment, but prize more highly the army of which the regiment is a part. The experiment has been tried in foreign mission work; the great historic differences of our great bodies of the church that have seemed altogether unbridgable have been surmounted without the loss of any denominational integrity, and yet with a new freedom and a new success in foreign mission work. That which has been done on the foreign field can be done on the home field. Now, it is not mine to suggest, but I know that in the great church of God, represented by the different denominations, there are brains clear enough to think a way through, there are hearts big enough and warm enough to find the way, "for heart will be ever winning, as

heart has ever won, fighting the battle of truth till the battle of truth be won." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I take much pleasure in announcing as our next speaker one of our well beloved members, MR. W. R. JOHNSTON,* long time missionary among the Western Navajo on the Arizona Plains. Mr. Johnston dwells now at Indian Wells; I don't know whether those wells are reliable or intermittent, but I do know that in Mr. Johnston's heart there is an unfailing well of courage and patience and indomitable optimism, which I suspect is fed from a high and ceaseless source. (Applause.)

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF INDIAN PROGRESS

REMARKS BY MR. W. R. JOHNSTON

As I listened this morning to Mr. Peairs' address I thought it was one of the best programs that has been presented from this platform. There was a question that insisted on coming up as I listened to that address and it was this: Are we able to translate this program into life? Around that question there come to the man at the front familiar with actual conditions a group of difficulties, and I am glad of the opportunity of giving you in an informal way three or four of these difficulties that I am satisfied we will have to overcome if that program is translated into reality.

The first difficulty that I want to speak of is trying to fit one code of law or one set of regulations (by the Indian Office) to every tribe of Indians in the United States. It is one of the difficulties that stands square in the way of progress. Let me give you an illustration. The general Allotment Act gives one hundred sixty acres to an Indian in the fertile valleys of Oklahoma where land is worth fifty dollars an acre. The same law must apply to a Papago or Navajo in the deserts of Arizona, where expert range men tell us it takes seven to ten acres to support one sheep. The land legislation meets the need of the Oklahoma Indians, but when applied to the Indians of the great southwest desert it is unjust and blights every hope of industrial progress.

The second thing I want to speak of is the large communities of Indian children without school privileges. I did not hear a sentence yesterday in regard to the number of Indian children that are yet out of schools. In 1868 a treaty was made with the Navajo Indians when they were returned from Boscoredunda to their own land. In that treaty the Navajo was promised a schoolhouse and teacher for every thirty-five children. Almost half a century has

*The remarks of Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wistar, immediately following, are transferred from the 3d Session because of their close relation to the general topic of the present session.—Ed.

passed and what do we find today? The latest government figures tell us that there are something over 8,000 children with less than 2,000 in mission and government schools, leaving 6,000 American boys and girls with splendid native ability without an opportunity for an education. Those of us who are studying these conditions at close range are convinced that with the present rate of increase in school facilities, there is no hope that this generation of Navajo children will have an opportunity to get even the rudiments of an education, and we want to urge that a program be adopted that will contemplate meeting this need within ten years.

The third thing I want to speak of briefly is the returned student. I have been a little surprised as I have seen articles written by some of the best men we have in this country and men thoroughly interested in Indian work at the lack of information they have. A group of missionaries of the different denominations asked me to make a survey of the Navajo country, a country extending from the Grand Canon on the west to Albuquerque on the east and from San Juan on the north in some places to the Santa Fe Railway on the south. I was asked to make a survey with a special view of gathering facts with regard to the young men and women who have been returning to that country for twenty years from reservation and non-reservation schools. As near as we can tell, there are something like 800 of those returned students. We were making a trip and we stopped one day near a trading post for our noonday luncheon. An Indian woman approached, in full Indian dress, carrying her baby on her back. One of our party saluted her in the Indian tongue and she replied in splendid English, and we learned this about her: when a child of about six she went to Ft. Lewis School in Colorado. She remained there nine years and then came home, and the trader's wife said, "I wish you could have seen that girl when she came home with her suit cases and her vision. Her ideal was to lead that family out of the old pagan life and give them some of the advantages she received in that splendid Government school." But what did she come back to? I wish you could go back with me to that camp. There was the little conical-shaped hogan, with a door perhaps four feet high, with a half worn-out blanket for a shutter, no window, no knives, no forks, no chairs, no table, a pile of sheepskins for a bed. One room answered for a parlor, sitting room, dining room, bedroom and kitchen for the father, the mother, a second, polygamous, wife and eight children. I would like to ask this company of men and women what chance that young woman had to make good? I can't tell you about the returned student condition in other reservations, but we have studied it in the Navjo country. I believe that a large part of the money spent on children sent back to conditions like that is lost; I believe that it is worse than lost. I have observed time after time those young men and women returning to

their reservation, going way back to an isolated place away from mission or Government post; I have never known one that has not come back with a vision, and that speaks well for your Government schools. Usually the first step on the downward course is to marry a pagan Indian who has never had the advantage of an education; they have been taught that they ought not to do that, and when they lose their ideal, then the decline comes fast, and many of those young men and women have gone—I say it deliberately—to a place below that of the camp Indian. A friend of mine said not long ago: “I’d rather undertake to elevate those camp Indians than those veneered pagans that return from the schools.”

Briefly, the fourth is absolutely adequate spiritual instruction for the children in the Government schools. If we are going to realize that vision that we got this morning, the chief stone that we must put under the building of those young men and women is that that comes through the word of God, the spiritual life. You know the regulations sent out to the Government schools all over this country. I want to tell you that in that section of our country there are some of the schools where the missionary has a free hand to give spiritual instruction; there are others where they are so handicapped, so hedged in by the superintendent that it is impossible to give that instruction. I believe this Conference ought to know these facts. I speak advisedly; I know of these conditions. A superintendent said to one of our missionaries not long ago: “What do you want to talk religion to these people for? The religion they have is as good as yours.” What cooperation could you expect from a man like that? And the same man said: “You are giving them too much religion.”

Just a word in closing, and it is this; I haven’t the slightest hope that the first point that I spoke of will be changed unless a group of men and women like this gets behind it, gets the vision and then transfers that vision to the Indian Office and to the United States Congress, and insists that trying to fit one code of law to every reservation in the United States is ruinous, and tries to correct it.

I haven’t a particle of hope that this generation of Navajo children will have the opportunity for an education unless some group of men and women like this get behind that proposition and insist that the boys and girls of America shall have a chance for an education. Suppose in the morning when you pick up your morning paper, you read in double-headed headlines: “A Community has been discovered in the United States of America where there are 6,000 children that have never seen a schoolhouse.” You would be startled, and yet that condition exists there.

We want your cooperation; we want the cooperation of every man and woman who is interested in this Indian problem, as we try to solve the very perplexing problem of the returned student. There has not been much thought of what we were sending those

young men back to. There are a number of reasons for their decline. Here is one. A vast majority of the young men and women who go to our non-reservation schools return before they finish their course; what chance would there be for our American boys and girls of our homes if you turned them out at the fourth, fifth or sixth grades and then sent them to surroundings like our returned students go to? We must correct that and we are able to do it.

The fourth thing, after having studied Indian life for a good many years as a missionary, yet interested in every phase of life, because I was not with the Indians long until we readjusted our creed, and we said, "If we are able to reach those people and elevate them we have got to lay our lives down by every need they have," I say to you today that the most potent factor in leading those people to the top of that hill that our chairman led us to this morning in his opening address, is a spiritual foundation and we are seeking to lead them there and when they are there, we want them to be self-supporting, independent, Christian citizens with the advantages and the responsibilities of Christian citizenship, and we can only do it by placing under that structure the living word of God. (Applause.)

MR. E. M. WISTAR, of Philadelphia: During the session I have been thinking very much of some of the conditions spoken of by Mr. Johnston, and of missionaries which some of us in some degree represent at this end of the line. For a good many years I have been having monthly reports, and so often they close with an appeal that prayers be made on their behalf, "Pray for us that we may do our duty, pray for us that we may be effective in this work which we have in hand." I recall just now as I left a meeting on the prairie some years ago, a man now gone to his rest, Hiram Blackfish by name, whom I had known many years, came to me and laid his hand on my shoulder and said "Brother, when you speak to the Father, just mention my name." I believe it is my privilege to pass this message to the rest of us and ask that we depend more largely, more definitely, on the power of prayer on behalf of the missionaries who are in the field. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: As the time for adjournment has come I am going to ask that the discussion be postponed until the final session of the Conference when we resume this general theme; and shall now declare this session adjourned.

Sixth Session*

Friday, October 20th, 1916, 8 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are to resume, tonight, our consideration of the theme of Indian administration, and are to have testimonies from persons who are really seeing and doing things in the field, which is always the most interesting kind of testimony.

We have much to learn from the excellent work that has been done in our neighboring nation, and we shall be glad to hear again tonight from MR. DUNCAN C. SCOTT, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Canada. (Applause.)

SOME FEATURES OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN CANADA

ADDRESS BY DUNCAN C. SCOTT, ESQ.

You always refer in very flattering terms to our administration of Indian affairs in Canada, and I do not know that we are quite worthy of all the commendation we receive. We often look with envious eyes towards the United States, its liberality towards Indians and the immense interest that so many people in this country seem to take in Indian affairs; for instance, we have no such representative body as the Mohonk Conference, which meets every year to consider what the government is doing for the Indians and to suggest ways and means of improvement; we have the government activities and the interest of the religious denominations in Indian work, and our people seem to be satisfied to let these powers suffice, but there are many things in which we ought to emulate you and very often we get good advice from the States. I remember some years ago that one of my predecessors in office had a fad that he wished to carry out all through the more recently settled country of the West; he thought that the Indians there should carry on their farming operations by pioneer methods; that is, they should reap their grain with the sickle and cut their hay with the scythe; that even the hinges should be made of willow wisps, as in the old times, and their grain ground in hand mills. We had great difficulty in getting these hand mills, although we inquired all through the Dominion; a hardware merchant in Montreal suggested that we should apply to a firm of manufacturers in New

The Sixth Session is printed here for the reader's convenience, it being almost entirely devoted to the discussion of Indian affairs. For the same reason the address of General R. H. Pratt and remarks of Mr. R. C. Allen are transferred to this session from the 5th Session.

York and probably we would get some information. In acknowledging our letter he said: "Kindly refer to Matthew, 24th Chapter, 41st Verse: 'Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left.' 'If you will find the one that was left, and apply to her, she will probably give you some information as to where to find the hand mills.'" (Laughter.) I think this put a quietus on that special policy of the department which required the Indian to get along without modern machinery.

So far as administration is concerned, there is no great difference in the methods employed by the two countries; we have our head office and our field officers, and the business is conducted, I think, largely in the same way. The early administration was purely military and conducted by the military authorities of England until 1860, when it was handed over to the authorities of the old Province of Canada. The provincial authorities passed certain laws with reference to Indians which they called the Indian Act, and, at the time of confederation, this Act was taken over by the Dominion and re-enacted. It was a very wise provision that all legislation for Indians, and, with reference to Indian lands, should have been reserved to the Federal Parliament. By the British North America Act the provinces were to have no right to legislate for Indians, which concentrated the power of legislation entirely in the hands of the Federal authorities. You will see at once the object and wisdom of this policy: there is no conflicting authority, so far as Indians are concerned, in Canada; we have the one Act, which applies in all parts of Canada and to all Indians; it comprises but a small pamphlet and covers the whole field of administration. The Indian knows definitely his status in our country. The Indian Act is an enactment specially designed to protect him and his lands; and, further, he is subject to all the laws of the country just as any other citizen is. He is a minor in the eye of the law, but he has to obey all the enactments, provincial and dominion, the criminal code included, just as any other citizen of the country. One important provision of that Act which tends to make things very much easier for us than they would otherwise be is the legal definition of the term "Indian." I am not aware that you have any legal definition of the term "Indian" in the States; we define an Indian as any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band, and the descendants of such person; the descent is, therefore, in the male line. An Indian girl who marries a white man becomes a white woman in the eyes of the law, and her children are white; her husband is not allowed to reside on the reserve, and must take his wife off; the woman's property interest is, of course, thoroughly protected; she continues to share in her annuities or in the moneys which she can compute by ten years' purchase, if she wishes to do so, and cannot be dispossessed of any land on the reserve; she has to receive compensation

for her improvement in any property she may own on the reserve. This gets rid of the difficulties that arise where the descent is in the female line or the rights of Indians complicated on the mother's side.

It is our policy to train our Indians in self-government from the very earliest stages of tribal association; we have a municipal system which is applied in its crudest form to Indians who are still savages; for instance, to such tribes as the Blackfeet and Bloods and Peigans of the West who have their tribal associations, their chiefs meeting in council with the agents, and, even in that primary stage, beginning to transact their own business, we leading them on until they become thoroughly versed in the knowledge of it. All our Indians of the East, going as far west as Port Arthur, have their own municipal organization, with their elective chiefs. At their council meeting they pass all the resolutions necessary to transact their business; these are transmitted to the Department and usually approved; you will see, therefore, that we are constantly preparing them for citizenship. Yet another point of difference, perhaps, is the control of legislation exercised by the government in our country. You know that we have a House of Commons and a Senate—a reproduction of the English system. The House of Commons originates the legislation, but no Indian measures can be brought up by private members; that is, by a member of the House who is not also a member of the government. All amendments to the Indian Act or special provisions for Indians must be fathered by the government. Any bill introduced by a private member on the subject of Indians, unless it received the support of the government, would not be favourably considered by the House of Commons. We have, therefore, a valuable safeguard against hasty Indian legislation.

The keynote of our policy is caution and prudence. We move, perhaps, too slowly, and some people think we are too conservative in our methods. However, our idea has always been to advance by degrees; it is our belief that this policy affords the Indian a better chance of ultimate success than the thrusting upon him of responsibilities which he is not in a position to uphold. We have, of course, some illustrations of the outcome of this method. All our Indians of Eastern Canada are now practically ready for enfranchisement. I think there are very few of these bands that could not be enfranchised, their money and lands handed over to them, and they absorbed into the body politic. We do not, however, wish to bring this about too hastily; in fact, I do not think that it is the policy of the Department to do so unless the Indians themselves ask it. The latter, finding their situation perfectly satisfactory as it stands, neither wish nor ask for a change. In the last twenty or twenty-five years there has only been one instance in which we enfranchised a whole body of Indians—the case

of the Wyandottes. They were a small band about two hundred, resident in the eastern part of Ontario, who asked to be enfranchised; it took us about twenty years to carry out the measure because there was a large sum of money to collect and distribute. We finally made the last payment about two years ago, and I instructed the officials in charge to give me a report on each family comprised in the Wyandottes; it was found that there was not a single member of that tribe who was not self-supporting. At the top was a man who was sales agent for a boot and shoe factory in Detroit in receipt of a salary of \$6,000 a year, and from that they graduated down to an ordinary charwoman. It will be seen, therefore, that, although we exercise our guardianship over the Indians to a very late stage of their development, that they are well able to support themselves when we finally let them go. We do not cut them adrift to sink or swim, but wait until we are quite certain that they are qualified to conduct their affairs independently.

I thought it might be interesting to say a few words about Indian education and the outstanding features of our policy in that connection. We have the denominational school system entirely in Canada. The Churches are inextricably mixed up with Indian education; in fact, it would now be difficult for us to conduct the schools without the assistance of the Churches, as the cooperative system is so closely grafted upon the Department. It arose in the old time; from the very earliest period the Jesuits were the first educators of the Indian youth in Canada or New France. They planted the boarding-school idea when they took a few Indians from the tepees into their stone houses in Quebec, and afterwards transferred them to France. The missionary societies of Upper Canada were the next pioneers. They really forced the hand of the government. The latter thought that the Indians were doomed and reports were made by the governors of the Province that they were fast disappearing. Take the report made by Sir Francis Bond Head on the Six Nation Indians, who are now one of our most flourishing tribes, and constantly on the increase. He found the women physically degenerate, the men dissolute drunkards and draws a most lurid picture of their condition: the only suggestion he could make was that they be moved into the backwoods and allowed to live their aboriginal life once more. Fortunately, the missionaries of those days intervened and convinced the home government that this was not the best policy; they shortly afterwards began to establish Indian schools with the result that we have the boarding school system as we know it now in Canada. In those early days the funds were provided entirely by the Indians; by commutation of their allowance for ammunition they actually established and supported the first schools. The government in our country was not the first to move in the matter of Indian education; it was the Indians themselves supported by the

missionary societies. When we took over the western provinces from the Hudson's Bay Company we extended our educational system to them, and our boarding and industrial school systems there are very much the same as yours here, except that the Churches are responsible for the maintenance and conduct of the schools. We have a contract system; the Church signs an agreement with the government that it shall maintain so many pupils and give them good housing and good and proper tuition for a certain per capita grant per annum. This per capita grant is not by any means large enough to support the school, and the Churches are even now spending very large sums of money on Indian education in Canada. I think we shall very soon have to put a stop to that by putting our hands deeper into our pockets, as the Churches are finding the strain almost unbearable; I think that very shortly they will ask the Government to take a more generous view of the situation. The advantages of the cooperative system are, in my opinion, very great; we gain all the missionary zeal in the selection of the teachers and the prosecution of the work that we should otherwise lose. I should not like to be responsible for a system of Indian education in which I should have to answer for the selection of the teachers and of the personnel of these large boarding schools. The Church does all that for us, and, of course, it is to their interests to get the very best available employees from the principal to the stableboy.

Our policy with reference to the establishment of hospitals and medical work generally does not present any essential difference, except that we endeavour wherever we can to make use of hospitals established for the white people. I am very strong on that point myself; I do not believe in establishing Indian hospitals except in regions where there are no hospitals at all. On our reserves in the West we establish small hospitals and maintain them ourselves, but in centres where the whites have established large hospitals or sanatoria of various kinds, principally for tuberculosis patients, we have arrangements whereby we can place a certain number of Indians in the wards at any time by payment of a certain rate. In that way we get the advantages of thoroughly equipped institutions and thoroughly modern methods. Of course tuberculosis is, in our country, the worst disease that ravages the Indians. We have little trachoma; it is almost unknown. I do not think a single case has been reported by our medical men in the West for many years, and there have only been a few cases in all Canada.

One of our chief difficulties, as I am sure is the case with the authorities conducting Indian education in the United States, is the placing of our ex-pupils after we have spent so much time and money upon them. We have found it extremely difficult to solve this problem, and I cannot say that we have really done so; we have,

however, been trying some interesting experiments with very good results. We have the colony system, so-called, which I think should offer a solution if fully carried out; that is, if adopted at all reserves and thereby for all the Indian pupils. We have a large reserve near the File Hills; an agreement was made with the Indians that it should be used for the settlement of ex-pupils. On this reserve we settle the married ex-pupils of the boarding schools; each pupil is given \$125 in cash and loaned \$300 and, with that capital, they are expected to start farming; so far they have done remarkably well. About twenty-five families are settled there now; last year they had 100,000 bushels of wheat and this year, although the crop is not so heavy, it will be proportionately large. Our agents and principals of our schools are expected to prepare for the graduation of the pupil two years before he or she goes out, and to prepare a place for each on the reserve. Whenever a marriage is arranged we give the young couple exactly the same help as we do at the File Hills Colony. It is remarkable how promptly these loans are repaid and what a large percentage of repayments have been made. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: GEN. R. H. PRATT, the well-known organizer of the Carlisle Indian School, has always some pungent reminiscences, suggestions and sometimes criticisms to offer us. It is a great pleasure to present General Pratt again to the Mohonk Conference. (Applause.)

OUR FORLORN INDIANS

ADDRESS BY GEN. R. H. PRATT, U. S. A.

Forty-nine years ago last June, as an Army Officer, I began to have duties over the Indians, and I have been responsibly considering their case ever since. I have had, perhaps, a greater variety of experience with a greater variety of Indians than any man in this country, and from the very beginning of my experience, I saw the Indian as a man and a prospective citizen, and to this end opposed tribal segregation and favored merging them into becoming a very part of our peoples. My dealings with them through all the years have established this as the only true course beyond a peradventure.

The particular message I feel it important to deliver here relates to the indurated segregating Indian system and the system's abominable treatment of the Indians. It was my lot to place in irons nearly one hundred Indian men of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, under the orders of General Sheridan, at Fort Sill in 1874-5, and to care for them in their prison life, and at the same time, have the care of nearly seven hundred others,—men, women and chil-

dren held in prison camps. It was my duty to take seventy-four of the most turbulent of those in irons to Florida and to remain with them for three years. They were not tried. The Constitution of the United States which provides that no man "shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," was not observed in their case. I did it under military orders. I felt uncomfortable about it and did what I could to ameliorate their condition. That is not the only incident of that kind in the history of this Government. The Declaration of Independence, and United States Constitution have no bearing upon the Indians' case—past, present or future. He is never regarded as within the protection of these safeguards of our other people.

I have visited during these years, many tribes. I know well the dealings of the government with them. On my way East I stopped off at the Blackfoot Reservation and saw some splendid evidences of ability for self support, but I also found contrary conditions that were most discreditable to these United States. I have at least fair knowledge of the efficacy of the various systems of the Government's work for the Indians, and of missionary work among them. Yesterday the missionary who was permitted to speak out of turn repeated his annual criticism of "the returned student." He seems to be all the time looking for the graveyards in which the returned students are buried. I wanted the gentleman to state how his converts got on when turned loose and sent into the same environment to live their new life, which the returned student is returned to. I know and have known all these years of plenty of Indians who had passed under missionary influences, both religious and educational, and had gained some competence, but who, having to live in their old surroundings, dropped from their estate, I won't say high estate because Indians do not get into a very high estate educationally or religiously under tribal environment.

In addition to the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, we have a seal on which is an eagle and "E Pluribus Unum." I want to call your attention to the fact that the bird of freedom is passing: we have shot him to death and nearly destroyed his race. We don't protect our emblem. Is it ominous? Get the new nickel and find the face of an Indian, and just in front of his eyes is the one great American word, "Liberty." Consider, read, investigate, get to the bottom of his case, and show me, if you can where in all the history of our dealings with the Indian, we have given him liberty to fully develop into civilized manhood.

I met one of the Board of Indian Commissioners last night, Immediately he began to say some things that went criss-cross with me. He said in effect, "It took you and me four thousand years to get our civilization and we must not expect the Indians to reach it any quicker." I replied; "I will put all the reasons for

what I say and what I think about Indian progress upon what was presented to this conference yesterday in the person of the Indian Priest." He was born a Chippewa in a little Indian hut in Wisconsin: he went to school on the reservation a little while and then escaped from that hindrance into the public schools. He tells me that those who went to the reservation school with him and remained on the reservation are still tribal and dependent Bureau Indians. He was taken out and surrounded by an environment that developed his mind and powers and gave him the logical thought and force he has shown here, so that we are glad to hear him.

When I stopped at Blackfoot I found twenty-four former Carlisle pupils who had returned to their homes twenty years ago, after being at Carlisle for short periods; most of them not over five years. They gathered around me with respect and affection; and some deplored the limitations of reservation life and methods. Most of them owned cattle; one of them had 1,500 and I never saw bigger, fatter and better beef cattle. A train of forty-two carloads raised by those partly educated Indians and their fellows was shipped to Chicago just a few days ago, under the care of an Indian. One of my old students was to take them but a snowstorm came on, and as he had 1,500 to protect, he stayed at home and let his brother-in-law take them. He writes his brother-in-law gave him \$100. a head for his shipment of 250. He has a ranch of 36,000 acres which he rents from the tribe, and pays for like a white man. He has a neat home, presided over by his wife, one of the Carlisle school daughters. I was their guest. This Mohonk does not provide better meals than I had in that home, cooked by this former Carlisle student, and her adopted daughter: nor does this place show any cleaner, nicer apartments and arrangement of things, nor more orderly conditions than exists there. Alas, on the same reservation, crowded off into a barren corner, there are four to five hundred of neglected people who are receiving so little attention and real help from us and the United States that they have retrograded into sad misery; and this condition prevails on many Indian reservations. The Indian system ought to be judged, not so much by the few improved conditions it parades as by the worst conditions it has engendered there and everywhere.

This Conference began with a Bureau presentation. The Bureau presentations should be estimated by the results in useful citizens; and I mean whether they are the lauded "epoch schools" or having the "babies born in hospitals," and then returned with the mother to shack life; or the field matrons, each trying vainly to teach home making to hundreds of Indian women in shack homes, and scattered over hundreds of square miles; or the agents so minutely ruled by inexperienced chiefs from their comfortable

Washington offices and bent on herding the Indians into Bureau perpetuity and enlargement.

Now the remedy! What is the remedy? Simply and absolutely the same individual chances for development into citizenship, in the same environment for every Indian that every other inhabitant of the United States has. We invite foreigners to come and be of us until we take in a million a year. There are only 300,000 Indians but they are continued segregated under a tenacious Bureaucracy, decade after decade, whose every scheme fastens them more and more into dependent Bureau Indians. One Indian agent, under Department authority some years ago, began to drop his Indians from Bureau care, because they were English speaking and capable and had their lands in fee. That went on until nearly 400 were off the rolls, and only about 25 were left enrolled. Not long ago the Indian Office reversed that and said, "It is not the policy of this office to drop enrolled Indians and you will take them all up again on your roll and look after them." You see even competent Indians must remain under Bureau supervision.

You cannot make a man a man unless you give him a chance to be a man. Lowell made Hosea Bigelow give the quintessence of it all when he said,

"The great American idea is to make a man a man
and then to let him be."

Make the Indian a capable citizen and quit coddling him. This is as practicable for every Indian in the United States as it is for all other people.

Now I think that what I know about the bad reservation conditions,—what I have seen, every member of the Board of Indian Commissioners ought to go and see with such determination as to make it impossible for any agent to hoodwink them by taking them in his governmental automobile and showing them the best things and keeping them away from the worst. Then when they get together and sum up conditions they could say and do something that would move these United States to take higher grounds in its care of our 300,000 Indians.

The Indian simply needs somebody to take him by the hand and say, "My brother, come and stand beside me and let us walk along the path of life together and be the brothers we are according to the good book, and according to the Declaration of Independence and according to the Constitution of the United States." (Applause.) Trachoma, tuberculosis—all of it is the result of the Indian system's treatment of the Indian.

A great deal is said about "lands for the landless Indians in California." I have been looking into that a little. Up near Manchester, California, there is a little band of eighty-four Pomo Indians. I was there two weeks, and saw their poverty and sad condition. The Government of the United States has, under

pressure from California, given hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy "lands for the landless Indians of California" and I give you this one instance which equally represents some of the conditions in a number of other communities. These Indians had land, but it had never been reserved to them by the United States; and the white man came and entered up the land on which they were then living, which was within a quarter of a mile of where they are living now, and they had to get off. They moved down near the river and this California Society got some friend to pay for forty acres of that almost worthless side hill land, and then under the Bureau's system, seventy-five acres more adjoining it. I was with an old farmer near for two weeks, who said, "Not a man in this community with a wife and two children would undertake to make a living off of that one hundred and fifteen acres of land." I looked at it, and agreed to his views. If someone with keenness for detecting fraud and wrong could be sent to California, and go through all these recent land transactions, and find out the quality and what has been paid and the real value and the utility of the land; and expose the facts and wrong, much would be learned about why the Indians fail to progress.

I was at another place where a company had a big ranch of 284,000 acres on which they keep 30,000 cattle. Their cowboys are the Indians who were living on that land more than forty years ago. The company pays the Indians \$35 to \$45 a month for their services. These sympathetic California people sent their agent there to get these Indians to go some place else and accept of land that they would have the government buy. The logical effect of this was to disturb and end their chances for the self-support, which they had manfully engaged in for many years. The people were getting on very well, and could easily be uplifted where they were. They had a school house, and a little Catholic Church to which the Priest came occasionally, and they had fair Indian homes with small fields and gardens. The land all belonged to the ranch, but the Indians had grazing privileges for their cows and horses, for all of which they paid each an annual rental of \$1.00 per year, and were satisfied. This movement made them discontented, and for what? They would come under the close care of the Bureau and so increase the number of Bureau Indians. It was another illustration of the policy to gather in and segregate.

I want to be on the Board of Indian Commissioners. (Laughter). I would like to be authoritatively behind the doors and able to get at and expose the wrong. If I had my way, I would make every meeting of this Board an open, public meeting, where everybody could go in and know what is said and done, because it is the public business, for which the public pays. However, I am ineligible, because not "eminent for intelligence and philanthropy" as General Grant made the law require. The Indian Committee

of the Senate of the United States makes up the Indian bill every year in public; all that is said, and every vote on every feature of the Indian bill in this Committee is made in the presence of everybody who cares to come to the Committee room; and anybody can get up at any stage of the proceedings and say anything they desire on any item of the bill as they are passing upon it; they keep open house, which is business, is righteousness and United States.

Brother Smiley, you and your predecessor have been kind enough to invite me to these Conferences all the years, and I am thankful. I came here first thirty-three years ago to one of the first, if not the very first meeting, and have been to quite a good many since. Your good brother, eight or ten times has taken me by the hand and said, "Captain Pratt, more and more do I believe that you are right. What we have got to do is to bring these people in among us and make them citizens; give them all the chances we give everybody else and that will end it." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are evidently not to be permitted to think of ourselves any more highly than we ought to think. It is good sometimes to be reminded of our manifold sins and wickednesses. We like a word right out of the heart of humanity and out of experience, and it is splendid to see the divine impatience in the man that knows. Just for our reassurance, let me say that the principle that General Pratt represents and has so long represented is, of course, the principle of this Conference, of the Board of Indian Commissioners. It has been set forth in platform after platform; announced again and again in the public word and in the actions of the Board of Indian Commissioners. That is what we all believe in. What we are here for, is to try to prepare these people for American and Christian citizenship. The only question is how soon, how far? Is it to be revolution or is it evolution? It is the same question we are dealing with in the Philippines. God bless the man who wants to get ahead faster, but we are going as fast as the wisdom of imperfect man seems to dictate.

I am glad to recognize Judge Allen who has a further word for us.

REMARKS BY MR. R. C. ALLEN

I do not want to leave here with the impression upon your minds, gathered from the figures I gave you the other day, of the extravagant wealth of a large number of the citizens of my tribe, that they are all wealthy people. The Creek Indians, I will say, at least fifty per cent of them, are practically in a state of pauperism, and need the help of this government.

The religious work has not been as effective there as some of the missionaries here consciously, and honestly too, have represented that condition among other tribes. I want to say that I believe

that the Creek Indians, living in their original style, worshipping their images, looking to the future happy hunting ground, were living in a more peaceable and in a happier and more contented way than they are living today. The confusion of religious beliefs among them, the fighting for supremacy among the Indians of the churches and the Indian societies of America has not only not accomplished good, but has rather made disbelievers of many of them. Let me urge you now to bring an end to this long and continued fight; let's erect a monument to Brother Smiley and his good wife in the form of a united church and a united Indian Conference to the end that we may work in harmony in our efforts to better conditions among the Indian people. I believe that the churches ought to get together. I think they ought to quit fighting among the Indians, quit teaching various doctrines and confusing the minds of these people.

Let the societies, the Indian Bureaus, the Commissioner and all, agree upon one program and let that program be carried out among the Indian people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I want MRS. H. P. MARBLE, who is the Field Matron in the Indian Service on the Menominee Reservation, to tell us her experiences with these people. (Applause.)

THE FIELD MATRON IN INDIAN WORK

REMARKS BY MRS. H. P. MARBLE

My work among the Indians is that of field matron. Climatic conditions and the different degrees of intelligence make the work on each reservation a problem in itself. I come from the Menominees of Wisconsin and my family of seventeen hundred children, of every age and temperament, furnishes as many perplexing problems as can be found in any three hundred and sixty square miles on earth.

First in importance is the question of health and sanitation and a continuous campaign to save the babies. The Indian Office is giving special attention to this phase of the Indian problem with an increasing degree of success. Most Indian women are not willfully neglectful of their child's welfare, but through a mistaken idea of kindness often permits the child to follow its own inclinations, as to food, habits, etc. This difficulty can be overcome only when the mother is impressed with the extent of her own responsibility. My time and efforts are given principally to improvement of home conditions which must be brought about before there can be material progress toward intelligent citizenship. I go daily into the homes, which are scattered over a large territory, and endeavor to keep posted on the needs of every family. When it is realized that there are some three hundred sixty homes, it

will be conceded that one can hardly do justice to them all. A matron must know personally and intimately every member of the tribe, be able to speak and write their names, be familiar with the location and condition of each home, the number of persons in each family, the health conditions of each, their inclinations and weaknesses, their industry and general habits. It may readily be seen that the crying need is for more workers—workers who are deeply interested in the welfare of the Indian and who are willing that a large part of their compensation should be the knowledge that they have rendered a service to humanity. Some reservations have no matron, none of them have enough to carry on the work properly. The district matron is as essential as the district farmer. We also need legislation for the correction of minor offenses, and providing for proper detention of wayward women and girls as well as boys, to check child marriages, wife and family desertion and other domestic irregularities. All these and innumerable other problems keep the heart of a conscientious field worker continually bowed down.

With apologies for the rambling nature of these few remarks, I suggest that if any of my hearers wish to look deeper into the needs of the Indians, let them follow the example of Hon. Edward Ayer, member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker, field physician, Dr. Wedge, and other interested ones, and come with me some fine morning on a forty mile drive through the woods and swamps of the Menominee Reservation. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Conference will be very glad to hear from MRS. ELSIE EATON NEWTON, of her observations and work among the Blackfeet during the past summer. (Applause.)

A HEALTH CAMPAIGN AMONG THE BLACKFEET INDIANS

REMARKS BY MRS. ELSIE EATON NEWTON

The Blackfeet have a reservation next to Glacier Park, so those of you who frequent the Park may know as much about those Indians as I do, except that I have seen them at a different angle. The reservation is about two-thirds as large as Connecticut, close to the Canada line and I have been told that it is the best land in the United States for grazing. It is nearly all prairie, rolling, then hilly as it rises into the mountains towards Glacier Park.

In round numbers there are 2,700 Blackfeet. Of the admixture of white blood I have no figures at hand; I surmise that it is between one-third and one-half. The Great Northern railroad runs through the middle of the reservation making a rather curious

division. On the north side nearly all the mixed-bloods live, and on the south side are two-thirds of the full-bloods. So the north side is referred to as the mixed-blood part of the reservation and the south side as the full-blood. The latter took their allotment up towards the mountains, and along the creeks, not only because of the fish and game, but because they wanted to get away from the white man. The reservation was allotted under the act of 1907, but the schedule remains unapproved, pending the adjustment of matters that have arisen, so the Indians though living on what is virtually allotted land, have as yet no trust patents.

The Blackfeet, themselves, or Piegiens, are a picturesque people. They have been celebrated in song and story. You have read George Bird Grinnell's *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, no doubt, and J. W. Schultz, Mrs. Sanders and others. Nevin and McClintock have adapted the Blackfoot musical themes. Mary Roberts Rhinehart has also made the acquaintance of the Blackfeet and is now taking a personal interest in their welfare. About fifteen or twenty years ago they were comparatively well off. There were many cattle on the range. Nearly every family owned cattle. Under one superintendent who was an army man, they had developed their homesteads to a considerable degree, having fairly good cabins, corrals, gardens, etc. From one cause and another they have become poor; that is, the full-bloods generally speaking, and some of the mixed-bloods. Others of the mixed-bloods living on the north side have accumulated cattle. They are more careful of their stock, are better business men; they live in excellent houses which are as well conducted as yours or mine. The majority of this latter class have been pupils at the Carlisle school.

The condition of the full-bloods as to trachoma, tuberculosis and housing has been frequently called to the attention of the Indian Office. There has been general medical work among them right along, but the condition seemed to call for extra measures. The Commissioner conceived the idea of making a special campaign as soon as the weather opened this year, with a particular squad to go right to the homes cleaning them up where necessary, examining all the eyes and persuading the Indians to submit to regular and continuous treatment. The squad consisted of Dr. Dewey, his nurse, Miss Soper, and myself. We were given three field matrons and two assistant field matrons, one of the latter being a young Indian boy. (Laughter.)

We did expect to go from house to house, cleaning each, but this proved impractical. We found that about eighty per cent of all the houses needed repairs of some sort, chiefly roofs. We then began a house-building campaign which was one of the most interesting things we did. At that time about fourteen hundred dollars was all we could command for lumber, and when I repeat that eighty per cent of the houses needed repairs, and in the Heart

Butte district alone there are 104 families, you will realize how much bread there was to spread with a little butter. It seemed to me that the expedient thing was to have the Indians cut their own logs, haul them and lay them up ready for the carpenter; while such Indians as had fair logs in their houses already, the houses being ill-constructed, should raze them and relay the logs. Although by this method, the workmanship would not be first-class, the lumber would go farther; and doing part of the work himself would give the Indian a greater personal interest in the house. It is highly important, this sense of contribution, because our Indians are too quickly spoiled by gratuities.

In spite of all the things the Indians have to say about their poor condition, when the opportunity is offered to them to improve it, a good deal of urging is required to get them to accept the opportunity. Those of us who have worked personally with Indians know that this is a factor to be fought over and over again. It is this that makes Indian work slow and expensive. For instance we had a carpenter employed at four dollars a day to go around and make the repairs on the cabins. We tried to have as many houses ahead as possible, ready at stated times; but for all our effort there were despairing moments when the carpenter moved his camp four or five miles to a house that I had promised should be ready on a certain day only to find that the Indians had gone away on a visit without having finished laying their ridge logs.

I have said nothing about the incidence of tuberculosis. Our physician did not examine for this, his work being confined to the eye, and the other physicians had not finished the survey when I left the reservation. The estimate of the extent of tuberculosis in one form and another is about 30%, glandular tuberculosis being most in evidence. Some of the worst cases were found in the Old Agency district. Our field matron there was an exceptional woman, a nurse and a practicing physician. The Wild Guns-Mittens family was her particular pride and joy. It consisted of Wild Guns, his wife and two children, and two brothers-in-law and a sister-in-law by the name of Mittens. Wild Guns himself was nearly blind in one eye, over which he always wore a patch, black and dirty; his wife had entropion on both lids; the small children had trachoma. Jim Mittens, a young man of twenty odd had a frightful case of glandular tuberculosis, both sides of the neck, the armpits and the entire chest, being a mass of running sores. Maggie Mittens was quite as bad. Miss Kennedy began on these people among the first. When she got their confidence, not only did she induce the entire family to take a bath, but she was allowed to cut off the girl's hair which had become impossible with vermin; and cut off the hair of an Indian is a serious business. Wild Guns allowed his eye to be operated on and the operation was successful. The operations on his wife and the

children followed, and the tubercular sores received treatment. Wild Guns has a new house upon which he worked with great faithfulness, and he also has a successful garden. More than all this, the consciousness of being somebody instead of nobody has made each of them hold his head up instead of down.

At Blackfoot there is a good hospital for tuberculosis. It is a gratuity from Congress. It accommodates twenty patients, ten of each sex. Miss Kennedy and her friend, another excellent woman, have taken its management temporarily, and at last reports it was filled to capacity.

We sometimes had difficulty in getting Indians to go into their renovated houses. One family upon whom we had spent the greater part of three weeks, persisted in remaining in their tent for fear of getting their cleaned and repaired house dirty. In dealing with primitive people without using actual compulsion, one has so many things to contend with that it is impossible to predict one day what the next day's difficulties will be, a pathetic thing to me being their dependence upon the initiative of someone else.

Our outfit let me describe briefly. We had two sheep wagons and five tents. A sheep wagon is a prairie schooner *de luxe*, the qualification being relative. They were very comfortable, built for two. The bed was good; there were cupboards, drawers, a mirror, a stove and a front door that could be locked at night. The nurse and I made ours quite homelike. Of the tents, one was for operating, one the dining room, another the kitchen, and the sleeping tents were those of the agency physician, the interpreter and the cook respectively. We were quite a cavalcade. There are pleasant things to recall, but the pleasantest to me was the personal acquaintance with the Indians, which helped immensely in our propaganda.

The doctor examined about one-third of the population. If the Indian were as fond of today as he is of tomorrow for doing things, the entire population could have been examined in less the time. Old man Calftail had promised to camp with us continuously so as to receive daily treatment, but our sanitary visitation must have been too much for him, for he decamped for parts unknown and we did not see him for two months. Suddenly he reappeared and made good his word. The doctor operated with success, and one of our recollections is the cheerful voice of the old man from afar announcing that he could see and that he was happy.

A brief resume of the eye work shows 950 cases examined, of which 64.3% had trachoma; 9.3% were suspicious; 13.8% had conjunctivitis and only 12.6% were normal. Twenty-one were blind in one eye and five in both. The operations totalled 213; for trachoma, both eyes, 130; pterygium, 53; entropion, 12. The follow-up treatment has been left to the field matrons and the local medical corps.

This whole experiment was full of interest; there is nothing so full of promise as this particular mode of reaching the Indian. There were personal discomforts and some hardships, but we felt that we were really doing something worth while. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: MR. R. D. HALL has something in connection with the address of Mrs. Newton he wishes to bring to our attention.

MR. HALL: I had the privilege of being on the Blackfoot Reservation for a few days; I was sitting in the office of the agent a good deal of this time, and was surprised to find that the people who came to consult him and make requests for his aid were people that he told me had a thousand head of cattle, were worth \$50,000 etc. I said to him, "It does not seem to me that you have very many of the needy here." He said, "That is one of the things that must be faced and faced soon, that we are so clogged up with the business of those who demand their rights as wards of the government, who have means and could well fight their own battles, that we have no time to devote to the full-bloods and those who need our attention." It is a very serious matter and I would like to recommend to this Conference that sometime we discuss and give attention to this problem of how shall we eliminate from the wardship of the government those Indians of independent means and a certain percentage of white blood, in order that it may be devoted to those who need attention. Those who have the means should assume their duties and responsibilities as citizens. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That is well worthy the attention of future conferences.

I am going to ask the Recording Secretary of the Indian Rights' Association, MR. MATTHEW K. SNIFFEN, to tell us what he saw last winter among the Seminoles in Florida. (Applause.)

THE SEMINOLE INDIANS OF FLORIDA

REMARKS BY MR. MATTHEW K. SNIFFEN

Last winter, in company with a member of our Executive Committee, I made a pretty extensive trip through that section of Florida where the Seminole Indians dwell, and would like to call your attention to what seems to me to be the present and urgent needs of the Seminoles. The sympathy and cooperation of the Conference are earnestly desired in support of a movement of the Florida people, led by Mrs. Minnie Moore Willson, Jr., of Kissimmee, to secure from the state, lands for the Florida Seminoles. As a matter of fact the problem is very largely now a state affair, so far as land questions are concerned.

To describe the present conditions and needs of the Seminole Indians of Florida is not a difficult task, once the uninviting country where they exist has been visited. To recall the wrongs and outrages from which these Red Patriots, have suffered at the hands of the United States Government, however, would require volumes. Beginning with the violation of a flag of truce by the United States Army in the capture of Osceola, which was followed by numerous instances of the Government's failure to keep faith with them, the Seminole has resisted the white man's civilization with an intense hatred, fleeing from it as though it were a plague. Usually official reports referring to acts of the Government in dealing with Indians, gloss over or seek to minimize anything that is reprehensible. It is rather startling, therefore, to read some blunt declarations of Inspector A. J. Duncan, following his investigation of the Florida Seminole situation. In his report, made in 1898, he refers to "The gross injustice with which these Indians have been treated in the past," and adds:

"The Indians' right, title and occupancy to lands dates to the earliest settlement of our country. England and Spain, in the earliest settlements, recognized these rights. As evidence of the recognition of their rights to these lands by occupancy, the Treaty of 1832 is important, but as an act of duplicity and perfidy perpetrated upon them, it will always stand more conspicuous. That this act, or so-called Treaty, was a forced Treaty, not made in good faith or with the consent of the Seminole Indians, cannot be denied. The whole Seminole nation arose. A bloody war followed, lasting seven years, and with the sacrifice of thousands of lives and at a cost of over \$40,000,000."

Following this war a "peace pact" was signed in 1842, and, "by order of the President," certain described lands were set aside for the Seminoles. The Indians were retired to that land. There soon began a series of white encroachments, and then it was contended that the agreement of 1842 was only temporary, and the Indians had to move again. They kept their part of the pact, but so far as I have been able to learn, no permanent plan was ever prepared to replace the temporary agreement.

About 1854 Congress passed a law turning over to Florida some 5,000,000 acres of so-called swamp and overflow land, but no specific provision was made for the Seminoles, who had undoubtedly acquired a right of occupancy. Gradually this land has been disposed of in large blocks, and with the efforts to drain the Everglades came the speculator, who saw a good opportunity for reaping large profits from unsuspecting whites. Meanwhile the Seminole was being forced into the interior of the Everglades and the Big Cypress Swamp. The Everglades is a strip of country about one hundred miles long and approximately fifty miles wide. It resembles a big wheat field; the saw grass grows luxuriantly, ranging in height from eight to ten feet. In the wet season this entire country is covered with water; in the dry season, only partly so,

and then it is practically impossible to go around with a canoe. Fifteen years ago it was realized by a few right-minded people in Florida that the Seminole was gradually being forced to the wall; that undoubtedly the State was under moral obligation to make some land provision for their future welfare, and a campaign of education was started. Florida admitted its obligation and several bills were passed by the State Legislature, in response to public sentiment, setting aside some land for the Seminoles. One act gave them certain described lands if "not otherwise appropriated," but it later appeared that every acre of that land was privately owned. Another act authorized the appointment of a Commission to select 5,000 acres for the Seminoles, but curiously enough, no funds were provided to pay the expenses of that Commission, and consequently nothing was done. Another bill was passed by the Legislature setting aside about 100,000 acres as a reservation for the Seminoles, but that was vetoed by the Governor of the State because the land was alleged to be worth \$10 an acre. A little later a prominent citizen of the State bought from the Florida Internal Improvement Fund nearly 60,000 acres of that valuable land for $41\frac{2}{3}$ cents an acre. Now, 100,000 acres may seem like a large tract for six hundred Indians, but when it is considered that at least four-fifths of that land would be most of the time under water, very little is left for providing homes.

An effort will be made to secure the passage of a bill for the relief of the Seminoles at the coming session of the Florida Legislature, which meets in the spring of 1917. A campaign of education is to be inaugurated, not only in Florida, but throughout the United States, to focus on Florida from all parts of the country a demand that "bluffing" be stopped and that some real and adequate provision be made for the Seminoles. Of the land turned over to Florida, about 1,000,000 acres are yet undisposed of, and it is not too late to demand justice for these Indians.

The Seminoles are not decreasing, but are a little more than holding their own. There are six hundred of them, all full-bloods, scattered in thirty-two small camps or villages. They live under very primitive conditions. They are sturdy and fine physical specimens, and are singularly free from tuberculosis and trachoma. Their morals are very high and their code is not to lie, steal, or cheat. They have possessed for years practically all the virtues of the white race and very few of the vices. They will, however, indulge in the use of intoxicants when they can get a supply, but unlike white men, when they are going to have a session of that kind, one man is always elected to stay sober and observe what the members of the tribe or his band are doing. When they go off hunting or visiting, nothing is put under lock and key, their belongings being left behind, unprotected, as it does not seem to occur to them that anything will be molested during their absence.

The Seminoles have always been self-supporting. Formerly they derived a good income from alligator hides, plume birds and game. Now there is no demand for alligator hides; plume birds are protected by law, and the game is almost extinct; consequently they will soon be forced to adopt other means of securing livelihood, or face starvation. Under the changed conditions, the "let alone" policy of the government is in need of revision.

The Government has in charge of the Seminoles a supervisor, Mr. Lucien A. Spencer, a man who has been living in Florida since 1902, and who, from the beginning of his residence in the State, took a great interest in the welfare of those people. The Seminole has been very much averse to anything that savors of the white man's civilization, even having a death penalty imposed on any who undertook to learn to read and write or to attend school. Sometimes the penalty meant cropping the ears or some other form of punishment, as a reminder to the victim that it was unwise to repeat the offense. It will be a slow work to bring these primitive people to the point where they will accept any of the benefits, so-called, that might be offered them by the Government. Mr. Spencer took up that question of the ban on education and got the tribe to suspend it; and it was very interesting to me, in crossing over the upper part of the Everglades, to find in a little district school seven Indian children. The teacher was most enthusiastic about their work and said they fully held their own with the whites.

There are three groups of the Seminoles, one at Cow Creek, another near Fort Lauderdale, and the third branch in the Cypress region. The northern Indians around Cow Creek are a little more progressive. They have been forced by circumstances to seek employment, and this year and last year, have been going out and assisting with the work on some of the neighboring farms in the harvest season. The men who employed them spoke very highly of them, and said they were faithful and efficient. If the Government can establish a small demonstration farm in some portion of this 23,000 acres that is available, and also a day school not too elaborate, under the charge of some intelligent, capable Creek Indians—for they speak the same language as the Seminoles—it would have, I think, a very beneficial effect, and the time now seems ripe for such a move. I have already spoken to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and he is heartily in sympathy with the proposition.

I will conclude my remarks by reading, for your consideration, a resolution, substantially as it was drawn by Mrs. Minnie Moore Willson, a lady who has devoted so much time and sacrificed her means and health in an effort to secure a betterment of the Seminole conditions:

WHEREAS the Seminole Indians are the original owners of the Everglades of Florida; and

WHEREAS, the Seminoles have been reduced, by the encroachment of the whites, from a prosperous nation to a well nigh homeless and helpless people; and

WHEREAS the State of Florida received from the United States a grant of about 5,000,000 acres of land in the Everglades, including the homes of the Indians; and

WHEREAS, the State of Florida has disposed of all but 1,000,000 acres of that tract but has made no provision for the Seminoles; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Mohonk Conference hopes and expects that the people of Florida and their representatives in the Legislature, will provide lands for homes in Florida for these Indians, and that a tract of 100,000 acres will be set aside where the Indians can engage in the livestock industry and thus become self-supporting. (Applause.)

DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE made a motion to incorporate the resolutions, with which Mr. Sniffen's address concludes, "in the proceedings of the conference." This motion raised discussion as to just what adoption of it involved, and was displaced with Dr. Meserve's approval, by a motion made by **DR. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN** that the resolutions be printed as a part of Mr. Sniffen's address, and "that the consideration of this proposal be referred to the Business Committee of the next conference," which motion was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time has come for the report of the Platform Committee, of which **DR. W. F. SLOCUM** is Chairman.

DR. W. F. SLOCUM: Your Committee has given a large amount of time to the consideration of the subjects brought into the platform and I think it ought to be distinctly understood that no subject is considered in the platform which has not been first considered in the conference.

The platform was then read by **DR. MESERVE**, and unanimously adopted.

(For copy of Platform, see page 7.)

DR. SLOCUM, on behalf of the Conference, expressed fitting words of thanks, which were happily seconded by **COLONEL E. W. HALFORD**, U. S. A., and to which **MR. SMILEY** responded feelingly with expressions of appreciation of the disinterested cooperation of the officers and members of the Conference.

After the singing of the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," the thirty-fourth Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples was adjourned without day.

Third Session

Thursday, October 19th, 1916, 9.45 A. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject of the morning is, Fundamental Considerations in the Government of Dependent Peoples. We are to think of the effects of heredity and climate and race contact in education and in religion, and our first speaker is DR. CHARLES B. DAVENPORT, Director of the Department of Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, and the Resident Director, at Cold Springs Harbor, Long Island, of the Eugenics Record Office. (Applause.)

GOOD AND BAD HEREDITY IN RELATION TO DEPENDENT RACES

ADDRESS BY CHARLES B. DAVENPORT, PH.D.

As I constantly meet people who say, "I don't believe in heredity," I am constrained to say a few words in general about heredity. Not to believe in heredity is not to know what is meant by heredity. Every person who pays \$1,000 for a good Jersey bull, or who selects seeds in a package marked "double petunias" believes in heredity. Every person who sets out a young maple because he prefers the shade of a maple believes in heredity—for he believes that the new twigs that develop will have the leaves of the maple and that next spring the new leaves that come out will be maple leaves. Every person really believes in heredity, and two Caucasian parents would be astounded to have a black skinned baby born to them. We really all believe in heredity as surely as we believe the sun will set tonight. I suppose what the person who says "I don't believe in heredity" really means is, "I don't believe that heredity had anything to do with making that boy a thief." The expressed disbelief in heredity is really only a doubt as to the part heredity plays in a given result. Heredity has to do with the expectation (based on experience) that a given reproductive material will produce in the future the traits that it has produced in the past.

At the outset we have to recognize that there are in the human species hundreds of independently inheritable traits of a physical, a mental, or a temperamental nature. Many of these are mutually incompatible and cannot occur in one and the same person, like straight hair and curly, white skin and black, and it is with these alternative traits that we have especially to do. Were the breeding of humans controlled from outside like that of dogs or poultry, it would be easy to produce as many distinct races of men as of

dogs or poultry. Actually, because of constant hybridization, few of these races become realized as distinct, but the potentiality of them is there.

In the case of certain so-called anthropological "races," which have lived for a time in more or less isolated situations such hybridization has been relatively less common and certain characters have become so widely disseminated throughout the population as to warrant us in speaking of them as racial traits. Skin color is one of these, kinky hair is another, flat nose, shortheadness, high cheek bone, the low mental capacity of the Bushmen and Australians, the wariness and reserve of the North American Indian are others.

Now, while all will admit the importance and necessity or culture of traits of which the germs are innate, we must equally recognize that it is as futile to attempt by mere culture to bring out in the individual traits for which the germs are absent, as it is for the farmer to try to raise corn in a field that has not been seeded. Training does not give to the feeble minded child normal intelligence; instruction does not furnish the average full-blooded Soudanese negro with sexual self-control; and the typical full-blooded negro and even some Indians do not readily acquire practical notions of thrift. It is as futile to attempt to change these races by training as it is to attempt to teach a fox terrier to retrieve or a collie to catch rats, or a Leghorn hen to brood her young.

When, therefore, you plan to incorporate a new race with the Anglo-Saxon form of civilization, it is reasonable to ask whether the innate traits of the new race are such as to render it practicable for it to meet the expectation of the Anglo-Saxon-made customs or mores.

It is an extraordinary fact that some excellent anthropologists, who are quite willing to admit the marked differences between "races," in physical characters begin to hedge at once when the matter of mental and emotional characters is under consideration. Thus Boas concludes: "Our considerations make it probable that the wide differences between the manifestations of the human mind in various stages of culture may be due almost entirely to the form of individual experience which is determined by the geographical and social environment of the individual. It would seem that, in different races, the organization of the mind is on the whole alike."

Professor W. I. Thomas takes the same view. He says: "In the beginning . . . a type of brain developed which has remained relatively fixed in all times and among all races."

This idea of the practical identity of mind and temperament of all children at birth, and the equal potentiality of all minds is extended to all the individuals of one and the same race. Says Thomas: "A stream of social influence is turned loose on the child, and if the attention to him is incessant and wise, and the

copies he has are good and stimulating, he is molded nearer to the heart's desire. Sometimes he escapes and becomes a criminal, tramp, sport or artist; and even if made into an impeccable and model citizen, he periodically breaks away from the network of social habit and goes a-fishing."

Over against the theoretical world of the sociologist I appeal to the experience of yourselves as fathers and mothers of families of three or more grown children. Have you found your children practically identical in intelligence, special interests, disposition? If they are different can you ascribe these differences to the unlike treatments you have accorded them; or do you find one like one blood relative in some respects, and another like another relative? Formerly there would have been a certain justification for the view that since all children of the same parents are genetically alike, the differences between them must be due to conditions: but now that we appreciate that inheritance is from the germ-cells, and that those of the same parent are very diverse in their determiners of qualities, we can understand the dissimilarity of brothers and sisters—of twins even—brought up under practically the same home conditons. I appeal to your experience. Have you not known single sons who, from an early age, had a strong impulse to wander and who are now engaged in some more or less nomadic occupation such as sailor or traveling salesman? Has the artist son been the sole representative of the family with capacity in this direction? Do you think you could have prevented him from expressing himself artistically? Studies that have been made prove, I think, that the nomadic tendency does not occur at haphazard but, on the contrary, follows definite laws of heredity. So also with the tendency to express oneself artistically, or to react at times by certain sorts of antisocial behavior.

As it is true that nomadism is based on a definite peculiarity of the germ plasm, so is it true that each of the different temperaments has its hereditary basis. The same is doubtless true for such traits as thrift, chastity, courage and others. They are racial traits; or, more strictly, depend in part on racial peculiarities.

Now if races differ in their mental and moral traits, how difficult, not to say disastrous, to attempt to treat all races alike. This, I take it, is one of the great limitations to the vision of statesmen and philanthropists. For example, the Anglo-Saxon race, so-called, seems to show an extraordinary amount of over inhibition, such as has made it easy for many members of that race not to do really harmless things that they wanted to do but had concluded they ought not to do. They even found a sort of pleasure in the "mortification of the flesh." Of such stuff were the founders of New England. They drew up "Blue Laws" which were easy for themselves to obey, but impossible for others, and sought to impose these laws on all, and consequently much friction has fol-

lowed. The attempt to impose on South Italians and Portuguese and other "hot blooded" peoples the mores of old New England has not been altogether successful. Again, are we not in danger of doing great harm by inferring that the New England system of town government or even the Iroquois system of representative government is best fitted to the nature of all Filipinos? Are we not similarly in danger of doing harm by treating "the Indian" as though a homogeneous people with similar fundamental traits, disregarding the fact that some Indians are by nature sedentary and others nomadic. We have repeatedly heard urged the policy of *farms in severalty* for the Indian, and this policy has apparently worked well in some cases. But there are nomadic tribes whose fundamental nature will not permit of such treatment. You may force them into it; many will die and many others wander away from their land. It is easy to legislate, but nature laughs at legislation that is opposed to instincts. When the nomadic Rumanian gypsies first began to overrun Europe numerous attempts were made to settle them on the land, but these failed, from the very nature of the case. And there are tribes of Indians that are no more fitted by nature for a sessile life than gypsies. How important it would be, before legislating for a tribe or people, to consider carefully their hereditary traits, and to legislate in accordance with them. If they have mores and a set of tabus, these are probably based on the innate traits of the people and should be carefully conserved and not regarded as rubbish to be thrown away and replaced by a new set of mores and tabus transplanted from a wholly dissimilar people, and frequently very badly adapted to the peoples upon which it is imposed. We have wrought our work of force and ignorance upon the Indian. Upon the Filipinos we have worked with less force and a little more wisdom. There is one dependent people—the Samoan islanders—that has been, as yet, little damaged by our vicious system. How fine it would be if the President would appoint a commission of one or more anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and economists to study the native mores and the native traits, with especial reference to their hereditary basis, and would make the recommendations of such a commission the basis of treatment of this people. I had occasion recently to travel with an ex-governor of these islands and his wife. I was told that no natives held individual property; the considerable income of the island was held and expended by the chiefs for the common good. The governor's wife had, however, induced a man-servant to start a private savings account. She was enthusiastic over her success, but one could not but shudder at this attempt to transplant to this fair island of Tutuila the "root of all evil." Let us, in dealing with any dependent people, consider its specific mores and the hereditary

basis for such mores, and, in general, the special heredity traits of the people.

Miscegenation

There is a widespread notion among keen and widely experienced observers that hybrids between well established races are frequently, if not usually, less fit for survival and for social purposes than the members of the original pure stocks. In the light of the modern science of heredity we can well understand this; for according to that theory characters are for the most part inherited independently of each other and may make any combination. The combinations found in the parental pure races are fit, but the new combinations found in the hybrids are frequently unfit. For, a race that has been long established has usually acquired a sort of harmonious adjustment of parts—bad combinations have been eliminated; the good combinations alone survive. But in hybrids, especially of the second hybrid generation, all possible combinations occur; some are fit enough, but many are more or less unfit.

This is clearly seen in poultry, to whose breeding, I may say, I have attended for many years. The Leghorn is a race of fowl which has lost the instinct of incubating eggs and caring for chicks—it is of great value as an almost constant egg producer. Other races, like the Plymouth Rock, lay a number of eggs, become broody, incubate the eggs, and, after hatching chicks, care for them in a satisfactory manner. These also are useful poultry. Now I have crossed these two races, and among their descendants have obtained some which will sit on the nest long enough to hatch a clutch of eggs; will then begin to care for the chicks but will gradually neglect them, after a few days will leave them at night to go on the roost and will, by the end of a week or ten days, have killed them all through neglect and perhaps have gone to laying again. Such a disharmony in instincts results in a useless bird.

Similar disharmonies are striking in human hybrids. As is well known the Scotch Highlanders are a tall race—some of them are six feet four inches and over in their stocking feet. They are, on the whole, a fairly long-lived race. Apparently they enjoy such a harmony of internal organs that the body is well nourished and no parts are put to an unusual strain. In this country the Scotch sometimes marry the Welsh and other races that are rather short. In the second generation we get tall offspring with well adjusted circulatory and nutritive systems; we get, too, short offspring who have properly adjusted internal parts; but we also get tall persons whose viscera seem quite inadequate for the bodily bulk. It is to these that the current saying applies that every inch of stature over seventy inches is an added element of danger. We have also short persons of whom the autopsy reveals a heart

too large for the body it had to serve. While this matter has not been thoroughly worked out, the hypothesis may be entertained that these results are often due to the maladjustments of hybridization. Another instance: Races vary in the size of the jaw and in the size of the teeth. In well established races the harmony between jaw-size and dental-size is often perfect, so that we cannot but admire the fine dental array of native races. But in a hybridized population like that of America we get the most striking maladjustments—small teeth widely spaced on a large jaw and large teeth badly crowded on a small jaw,—again, evidence of the disharmony of hybrids. Such disharmonies in the intellectual sphere are even more distressing. The ambition to do great things becomes combined with mental inferiority; fine intellect with inertness; a craving after morality combined with feeble inhibitions. Sad indeed are the revelations of the soul of the hybrid. In general the evils of hybridization have not been overstated.

But the consequences of hybridization are not all so dark as this picture would indicate, else we might well fear for the future in this country, with its mixtures of Caucasian races, its mulattoes, its Indian half-breeds, etc. On the contrary, one can find some elements of good even in such extensive national hybridization as ours. For, first, the different races have different qualities; hence combinations of these races will be different, and there is reason for thinking that a high degree of variability in a population is, of itself, a good thing, as fitting the population to meet a great variety of conditions—to fill many needs. Second, hybridization tends to produce some individuals with a superior combination of traits. For not all good traits are found in one race; by hybridization the good qualities of two or more races may be combined. Thus, the negro is relatively resistant to many diseases—to many forms of cancer, to diphtheria, to infantile paralysis, even to pellagra. It is probable that some descendants of mulattoes show this superior physical resistance combined with good mental and moral qualities. Of course, the bad qualities are inherited as well as good from the poorer race—and that is the great argument against hybridization; but theoretically the bad combinations might be segregated or sterilized, and thus prevented from reproducing, so that only the extra-valuable combinations should be left to reproduce. Thus through hybridization, as by no other method, new and valuable combinations might conceivably, arise. Similarly hybrids between Caucasians and Indians offer possible new and improved combinations of traits, even though some of the combinations may not be so good and may have, eventually, to be weeded out.

Thus, on the whole, miscegenation is fraught with great dangers, even between not very dissimilar races; but, on the other hand,

where it has occurred extensively, a courageous handling of the situation, and control of matings, might result in bringing some good out of evil.

In conclusion, our dependent races differ from us and from each other by certain hereditary characters. These are fundamental and unalterable. They must be taken into account if we wish to deal most intelligently and effectively with such races. Our legislation must be adapted to their instincts; we should not vainly expect to change their instincts by our laws.

In miscegenation new combinations of hereditary traits occur, which frequently lack harmony; herein lies the great evil if miscegenation. The good side of miscegenation lies in the theoretical possibility of making by means of it, as by no other means, new and superior combinations of traits.

In conclusion, in dealing with any dependent peoples, a profound study of the instincts and mores of the people should precede legislation and not follow legislation. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have listened to an exceedingly suggestive and convincing, though a bit alarming, message. There is a certain cool and detached logic about the man of science that, especially when it is pointed with wit, punctures some of the rainbow bubbles of our imagination. Now we turn to the influences of climate, and we look to our expert in these matters, the noted explorer, DR. ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, formerly of Yale, who will now address us. (Applause.)

CLIMATE AS A FACTOR IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

ADDRESS BY ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, PH.D.

There is a curious contradiction between our attitude toward the individual and our attitude toward the race. As Dr. Davenport has just shown, we do not hesitate to acknowledge that the individuals here around us, even though they may have had the same education and have grown up under the same circumstances, differ in ability. We also know that on a fine day in October, a competent man has an ability which he does not have when he is jaded and tired at the end of January or at the end of a hot spell in July. We accept, for individuals, the idea that human character or human actions depend on three things, and that these three things are practically equal. One is the capacities with which people are born, which depend on heredity. The second is the energy that they have to carry things out; and when people are well fed and in proper health, that energy depends largely on climate. The third is training, by which I mean all the cultural activities including education, religion, government, etc.

Now these three things, being equal, ought to be considered as equal, but unfortunately we are obsessed with the idea that training is the chief thing and that in the building up of character, training, including religion and other things, will accomplish all that we want. Are we not like farmers, as Dr. Davenport has said, who think that by cultivating very carefully, and by doing a tremendous amount of work in ploughing and weeding and killing the insects they can get good crops? They forget that two other processes are equally necessary: first, they must select their seed with great care and find the varieties fitted to their climate; second, they must analyze the soil, and see whether irrigation, drainage, etc., are needed. I do not mean to underrate the value of training. I am proud to say that I spent four years teaching in a missionary college, and if I did not now have other work better suited to my capacities, I should find it no sacrifice to go back to that kind of work. Yet I believe we need a radical change in our general theory in regard to ourselves and other nations. We need to recognize that as farmers whose crop is human lives we need not only training, but a training which is based on the deepest, broadest knowledge of the effects of heredity and environment.

To apply this conclusion to climate and to the Philippines and Porto Rico, I want to tell you about certain recent investigations. In the first place, the studies of anthropologists and geologists are fast exploding the old idea that man originated in a warm, tropical climate. It seems to be true that man, as well as most of the more important mammals originated in regions that are fairly cool. Now, however, he has spread out into all sorts of climates. How far is he adjusted to those climates? As a partial answer to this question, I have gathered statistics of the daily work of about 15,000 factory operatives in different parts of the United States, from Connecticut on the north to Florida on the south, and of about 1600 students at West Point and Annapolis. Most of the operatives were Europeans, but part in the south were Cubans with a slight intermixture of Negro blood. I have also for a year and four months carried on daily tests of the mental and physical activities of 22 Negro students at Hampton Institute. To these have been added statistics on mortality in many countries, as well as those of the strength of school children in Denmark and the gain of weight among tubercular patients. In every case the change from one season to another is very marked and systematic. For instance, under climatic conditions such as we have in October, wherever those conditions occur, it appears that people are at their highest ability. People's strength and ability drop off in the winter in our climate and again in the summer. The evidence of this is perfectly systematic, whether we investigate deaths, the strength of children or various other things.

Now let us see what conditions give rise to the obvious difference

between our abilities at this time of the year and during a hot spell in summer. First, as to temperature. A careful study of the 15,000 people I have been talking about shows that when the mean temperature is about 60 degrees, people of North European descent are at their greatest capacity. By mean temperature I mean the average for day and night, so that on days when the thermometer rises to 65° or 70° at noon and falls to 50° or 55° at night, we are, on the average, at our best. When we come to Cubans in Florida, we find that the best mean temperature for them instead of being 60° appears to be about 65° but the difference is not nearly so great as the difference between our climate and the Cuban climate. Among the Negroes tested in Virginia, however, the temperature of greatest physical efficiency is almost the same as for white men. Other investigations based on the death rate shows that the best temperature for Europeans and for Japanese is an average of about 63° for day and night. Thus all sorts of races are physically at their best at an average temperature of from 60° to 65°; that is when the thermometer at noon does not get above 75°. At higher temperatures people cannot do their best work.

How about the Philippines? In the Philippines we have a tropical race, presumably no better adjusted to hot weather than the Cubans and Negroes, but the *mean* temperature in Manila ranges from 77° in the coldest month to 83° in the hottest. There never is a time in the Philippines when, even for a tropical race, the temperature gets low enough to stimulate people to the highest activity. You will easily realize that this must be a factor of great importance in determining how much the Filipinos can actually accomplish.

Consider humidity as an influence upon racial capacity. The studies already described show that very damp air, as we all know is bad for people. Very dry air is also bad. For a temperature of 70° or over, a humidity of not more than about 50 or 60 per cent proves to be the one in which physical strength is greatest; but in Manila the average humidity ranges from 71 per cent in the best three months to 84 or 85 per cent in the worst; and other parts of the Philippines and Porto Rico are not much better. It is always so damp there that it is a physiological impossibility for the people there to do the best work that they are inherently capable of.

There is still a third climatic factor to be considered; namely, the change of temperature from day to day. The studies of factory operatives already described show that when today the temperature is the same as yesterday, people cannot do their best work. When the temperature rises a little, provided it is not too hot, it affords a slight stimulus; when the temperature falls so that today averages from four to eight degrees cooler than yesterday, people experience a decided stimulus. This morning when I greeted Mr. Smiley he said that it was too bad we had a rainy day.

I wanted to answer, "No, it is not a bit bad. This is the sort of thing that spurs us up and keeps us all active." Paschal said long ago that the European races owe their mental and physical activity to the variability of their climate. In the Philippines and Porto Rico, the average change from one day to another is only one or two degrees. A change of as much as two or three degrees between the average for one day and the next is so rare, that the inhabitants practically never get this stimulus which we get all the time, and which does so much to add to our energy.

How about the relation of the mind to climate? As Dr. Davenport has insisted, the mind and the physical organs are subject to the same laws. That appears in our studies of climate. I have studied the marks of students at West Point and Annapolis, and among Negroes I have carried on mental tests every day for sixteen months. Both lines of investigation indicate that what I have said as to physical energy is also true of mental energy, although with certain modifications. The most important of them is that the temperature for the greatest activity of the mind is lower than for the greatest physical activity. The New York State Commission on Ventilation has made an investigation which bears on our problem. They find that at high temperatures physical strength does not begin to fall at once,—it falls later,—but while people are still able to do as much as at the lower temperatures, their *inclination* to work falls off.

This is one of the fundamental facts in reference to tropical people. The Filipino and Porto Rican live in a climate where the temperature not only never falls low enough for the greatest physical activity, but remains still further from the temperature best for mental activity. We cannot explain just how this happens, but perhaps it is something like this. We are dealing not with disease, it must be remembered, but with healthy individuals. When the temperatures are too high and the humidity is not right, chemical activity in the body is apparently stimulated too much. We know that heat stimulates chemical activity; that stimulation causes the body to accumulate more waste materials than it can eliminate through the breath and by other processes. Therefore there remains in the blood certain remnants which act as poisons, waste materials which ought to have been eliminated but which form too fast. This, mind you, is not definitely proved; it is merely a theory which is yet to be tested. But it gives some idea of how climate may work.

The influence of such adverse climatic conditions on moral character is very strong. We talk about the Filipino's weakness, and we are apt to look down on him and despise him because he is lazy. We say that this is a moral trait. All right, it is. We say we can remedy it by moral means—that we can remedy it by teaching the Filipino and giving him the right kind of religion

and good government. We can assuredly help him in these ways, but we cannot get over the fact that because he lives in the wrong kind of climate, there is in his blood something which actually prevents him from being efficient. He has a tired feeling all the time. He does not know it because he has never been conscious of anything else. I talked not long ago with a girl of English descent from the Bahamas who had come to New York, but was back in the islands on a visit. She looked so different from the other Bahaman women that no one could help noticing her. She had been as pale and anemic as her sisters while she lived at home, she said, but when she had been three years in New York, studying nursing, she came back with a most attractive, rosy complexion. I asked her how she liked New York compared with the Bahamas. "Oh, New York is far better," she answered. "In New York you feel like doing things all the time; here you never feel like doing anything."

That is exactly the feeling that our Filipino fellow-subjects have. They have "that tired feeling" and cannot get over it. It is no use for us to say we can make the Filipino as industrious as the Frenchman, for example, by giving him new incentives. We cannot do it. Of course we can help him somewhat, but the only permanent hope lies in finding out what the physiological trouble is and how it can be remedied.

Other moral traits are also influenced by lack of a perfect adjustment to climate. All of them may be summed up under the head of a weakening of the will. We all know that our wills become weak in hot weather. Our wills also become weak during a long cloudy spell lasting for months, when we never see the sun and there is nothing but drizzle. We get cross and our tempers are not nearly so good as usual.

We blame the Filipino because he flies off the handle as the saying is, but that again, to a large degree, is a physiological matter due to lack of adjustment to climatic conditions. If that is true, it leads to grave political consequences. We know well enough that the time when we can be forgiving to our enemies and the time when we can go out and do the thing we ought to have done but have left undone, is the day when we feel an extra amount of energy. It is energy, and again energy, that counts. I am not talking about inherited capacity or about the ways in which energy can be directed by training, but simply about the energy that manifests itself as will power and self-control. When we lack that energy, then we go out and do the thing we ought not to do. When we have it, if a man has wronged us, we can go to him and not have a feeling of enmity but of forgiveness. There is among the Malays a habit of "running amuck" that you have all heard about. It is lack of self-control carried to extremes. It is notable that in the world as a whole the people who most completely

lose control of themselves are the people of the tropics. You do not hear of people running amuck among northern races; at least, if it happens, it is very rare, but in one form or another it is quite common among tropical races.

All this is significant politically. This weakening of the will by the imperfect adjustment of the physiological processes means that when a man is defeated in a political contest he is in danger of letting his disappointment get the better of him. It is not easy to advocate good ideas and then have the majority rudely reject them, but if a man is strong-willed, he says "All right, I'll do what the majority demands now, but will get back at them by showing them that my way is right," and he goes about it peaceably. The man who lacks self-control, however, cherishes a feeling of anger. He cannot control either his resentment or his ambition, and starts a revolution. Of course all manner of other factors enter into the problems but the weakening of the will due to climate has a great deal to do with the fact that it is so common for tropical people to oppose the will of the majority and start a revolution.

Other phases of life are affected in the same way. Take the position of woman. The missionaries who have lived in tropical countries and who are willing to speak candidly, practically always say that although they can make their converts honest and can instil in them a certain degree of industry and of other good qualities, the hardest thing of all is to make them conform to our moral standards of sex relationships. The basis of this seems to be physiological much more than social. Heredity doubtless has much to do with the matter, and so has training, but the physiological conditions increase the tendency toward immorality very greatly. Under such circumstances women cannot take the place in the community that they occupy here. If a girl is allowed to go around freely in tropical countries she is in the gravest danger. A girl can be brought up safely only when kept under constant guardianship, but if she is never allowed to go out and freely mingle with other people, when she becomes a mother and the strongest force in training her children, you cannot expect her to give to them what a mother can give who lives as our mothers here do.

Take another trait,—honesty. Did any of you ever tell a lie because you were too tired to tell the truth? (Laughter.) I think you have; I don't know but I have. You were tired when somebody asked you something and you knew that if you answered the question truthfully it would involve a discussion. Maybe you would have to explain, and somebody would be vexed, so you did not tell the truth. Afterwards, when you felt strong and energetic, you probably went to that person and said, "I was so tired that I didn't know what I was saying." That is what the Filipino does, and we say it is a moral characteristic, a lack of sincerity. It is partly that, but we cannot separate the moral from

the physical, the will is weakened, the poor tropical native has not the power to do right, and he becomes what we call insincere.

I might go on indefinitely, for because there are many other things where this applies, but I want to end by saying this. We spend great sums to investigate breeds of cattle and find out what kind of grass is best to grow in certain soils; yet our government spends almost nothing, and individuals spend scarcely more, in order to find out how much influence physical environment has upon our dependent peoples. The same is true of heredity. Is not it time we did something? You say, "What can we do? We cannot change climate." Of course we cannot, but yet we do change climate. Why can't we do things like that in the tropics? If we were to cool the Filipino houses and dry them as carefully as we heat houses here, do you know what it would do to those people? Of course I don't know; may be you can tell; it would do something.

There are many other things we can do to overcome the effect of an unfavorable climate. I was talking this morning to a man who said he thought a man could keep his energy in Manila because he had done so. He did it, however, by living under special conditions. He worked nights when it was cool, and slept by day when it was hot. That may have made a great difference in his physiological condition, for he was able to work when he was not so much troubled by the heat and perhaps by the intense light, and thus by undue chemical activity in the body with the consequent excess of uneliminated waste products.

On controlling an adverse climate there are still other methods of which we know little or nothing as yet. We do not know what atmospheric electricity may do, or what a different amount of ozone in the air we breathe may accomplish. There are hosts of possibilities. You say that this is all very visionary. I grant it; but when Newton saw the apple drop, and when other people studied the laws of moving bodies and the laws of gravity, of course they could not see that one of these days we were going to build aeroplanes according to those laws, that we were going to make our railroads on grades and curves according to those laws, that we were going to adopt the size of our engines and of our rails to those laws. But if there is a law of nature, there are bound to be applications of that law in a thousand other ways. When people looked through the microscope and saw little bacteria wriggling around, they could not tell that the study of them was going to add many years to the life of the average human being. So if we have any truth, it is worth while to investigate it and see what its applications are. The practical cannot come until after what you may call, if you like, the impractical, but the impractical, after all, is one of the most important things in life.

In conclusion, I beg you not to think that I am underrating the

value of the agencies now at work; I am not for a minute. They are in a tremendous struggle, in the middle of a great fight, and the scientists whom Dr. Davenport and I represent, are merely trying to bring up some reserves because we think the fight cannot be won unless the three great armies of heredity, environment and training cooperate. We admit that our recruits are raw, for they have only just begun to work. Nevertheless the stuff in them is good and we believe that the solution of our problem lies in putting the three armies on a coordinate basis and giving each an equal chance to win the battle. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us thank God, friends, that most of us were born in a temperate zone. (Laughter.) I do not care to impose the New England habit of mind upon all persons and do not insist that everybody should think and act as Jonathan Edwards did, but I am glad to have some of that in my blood.

We have thus far this morning been considering those effects which are primarily physical. We will turn now to those which are primarily intellectual and spiritual, and first we are to hear from DR. WILLIAM I. CHAMBERLAIN, who serves the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America. (Applause.)

THE EFFECT OF RACE CONTACT ALONG RELIGIOUS LINES

ADDRESS BY REV. W. I. CHAMBERLAIN, PH.D.

I have understood in the correspondence that has passed that my privilege this morning was a somewhat informal contribution, or participation in the discussion of race contact along the lines of religious influences. I have thought of it myself more in the direction of the fact and the value of those contacts than in their effect, as the subject is phrased in the program. It is a very interesting observation that is being impressed upon us more and more in these days, that the contrasts of our social life are constantly widening in their fields. Not very long ago, indeed no longer than the beginning of this present century, we were considering these contrasts in the field of *national* life. A very striking expression of it occurred in one of the characteristic addresses of Lord Salisbury, when he annually took into his confidence the people of Great Britain in regard to the foreign relations of that country. He presented these contacts or contrasts in terms of *national* life, grouping the "living" and the "dying nations." He ventured to indicate his judgment as to the "living nations," although he did not venture to specify at that time the "dying nations." The "living nations" were England, Germany and the

United States, the best educated, the best moralized, the most Christian people upon the face of the earth. By the "dying nations," as it was understood at the time, he referred to three great countries whose life was in the past rather than in the present, China, India and Turkey. His purpose in bringing these contrasts into his discussion was wholly political, but it is a very interesting fact that it at the same time suggests a very striking religious contrast, the three great races, of a western spiritual development, and the three great nations or races representing the religious developments that have challenged the assent of the east. These are contacts or contrasts in national life.

Not long ago my attention was called to a very striking editorial that appeared in a Japanese magazine published in New York and edited by a Japanese in which he set forth, under the caption, "The Consolidation of Continents," the thought that the contrasts in our social, or national life today are along the line of *continents*.

The Japanese Editor set forth in this rather striking editorial his views along the lines of these great continental developments: Europe the concert of whose nations is so widely broken into dishonor today; the tendency to consolidate in the American continent under the Monroe Doctrine and under the hegemony of the United States. He went on to present his theses with this introductory illustration, by asserting that there was a very positive tendency on the part of Asia to consolidate under a somewhat modified Monroe Doctrine and with the hegemony of Japan, and asserted the full right of the nations of Asia to a consolidation along this continental line, a racial and religious consolidation over against the intrusion of a similar consolidation in Europe and America.

But we have reached today, I think, a still wider contrast, not a national or a continental, but a world contrast, a contrast of two worlds, and a conflict of two worlds; one we call the world of material things and the other the world of spiritual things. I think you will all agree with me that the pathos and the tragedy of the present day lies not alone in the circumstance that hundreds of thousands and possibly today not less than ten hundreds of thousands of bodies lie languishing in hospitals in Europe; that alone is not the pathos today; nor is the pathos and the tragedy of the present day involved in the circumstance that great nations that have greatly served modern civilization are confronting the issue of the continuance of national life. But this is not, after all, the greatest tragedy of the present time. I think all of us will agree that the real tragedy today lies in the circumstance that Corsica has momentarily eclipsed Galilee, that the great conflict of the material with the spiritual world has resulted momentarily in this sad circumstance. However we are all encouraged by the knowledge of the fact that after all Corsica did not annihilate Galilee,

and Galilee, after the few dark hours of the Crucifixion blazed forth in the immortal glory of the resurrection.

These contrasts are before us, the material and spiritual. May I fortify myself by associating myself with those whose authority will be recognized here and everywhere? Admiral Mahan has said, in a profoundly impressive essay, that there has developed in recent years, a tendency amongst all the great nations of the world, except our own toward expansion. He adds, however, that the serious circumstance is that this expansion has brought into contact, in conflict, great racial units and that they have come into contact upon the basis of a common material advantage without the corresponding spiritual advantage or contact, and he goes on to assert, from his experience and studies, that there is a distinct peril to our modern civilization in this new contact of races upon the basis of a material advantage alone without the corresponding basis of a spiritual advantage. He further asserts that this desirable corresponding contact along spiritual lines must be brought about not alone by a process of development but by an actual, active process of bringing to bear the spiritual experience of the one race upon the spiritual experience of the other. It is a profound observation from one occupying the field he did. Professor Lindsay, the historian, says that history knows of no revivals—and I am using the word in its large sense—of moral living apart from some new religious impulse, and that the motive needed has always been supplied by leaders who have had communion with the unseen. He draws ample illustrations upon the basis of the Reformation. We have other ample illustrations—Aristotle, Confucius, Menchios, Sakyamuni, Keshub Chunder Sen, Mozumdar—illustrations of men who have led great reforms by the way of communion with the unseen. There is another authority I would like to quote, a man who has exercised wide influence in this country as abroad, a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who says that the whole movement of modern history seems to indicate that the human race is approaching a crisis in which individuals and nations and entire civilizations must confront the issue of the settlement of their problems upon the basis of a Western religious solution or otherwise perish from the earth. I can perhaps parallel this statement with one from a statesman, a visionary in the field of Eastern thought, Count Okuma, who has founded one of the greatest private universities of Japan—Waseda—and who has recently retired from the premiership of the Government of Japan. I think I quote his words: "The fatal defect in the teaching of the sages of Japan and China is that, while they have dealt with virtues and morals, they have not sufficiently dwelt upon the spiritual nature of man; and any nation, while it may grow in fame and in power, will ultimately perish unless it gives sufficient attention to the spiritual element in man."

He goes on to add, what is interesting and impressive, that the basis of modern civilization has been supplied by the teachings of the sage of Judea, from whom alone has proceeded the necessary moral dynamic. These are statements coming from men occupying places of great authority which seem to me to justify the value of holding up the mirror of Western spiritual experience that it may reflect itself upon an Eastern world.

This then is my thought, that this American nation, by reason of the enterprise of its people, has come to occupy an important position in world trade; this American nation, by reason of events not expected and not prearranged, has come to occupy a dominant place in world politics; this American nation, by reason of the ample endowments and the large number of its universities and colleges and schools, and by reason of the great multitude of its earnest students among the scholars and professors, is coming to occupy a recognized place of leadership in the world of thoughts. By all the laws of national life, this American nation is under obligations to assume more and more a dominant place in the spiritual contacts of races, and in the ultimate redemption of the race. It is a moral imperative that rests upon us by reason of our greatness, by reason of our world trade, by reason of our political power, and by reason of our intellectual leadership. I came some time ago upon the striking motto of old Glasgow, that iron city whose ships sail upon the seven seas, "Let Glasgow prosper by the preaching of the word." Those fine old Scotch fathers of Glasgow knew that truth, not only in the trade but in the life of the city, was necessary to its strength at home and its power abroad. We must believe for ourselves and we must teach it to our fellow citizens, that truth in the inward parts of the nation's life and the outward agencies of the nation's trade, and contact through religion and through spiritual experience, is necessary in order that we may become justly and enduringly great. We all know, who are gathered here this morning, that no nation, be it the best organized nation of modern time that today confronts this issue of the continuance of its national life, that no empire be it the most widely and firmly established empire of our day, that no republic be it the most glorious democracy of history, that none of these can live long in fame and in power unless they work not only for their own social and political interests but, as faithful stewards of high forces and labor, for the whole human race. And so this endeavor of holding up the mirror of our spiritual experience to the world, this endeavor of carrying on the spiritual energies of our world to other worlds, this has never degenerated into a mere egotism that compasses the land and sea for the purpose of making a proselyte. There is a sense, of course, in which some beliefs must be destroyed as a necessary precursor to the establishment of proper conceptions of life; that is a process of all evolution, but it

is not a mere iconoclasm which defaces the image on the outer shrine and leaves the reverence in the breast of the worshipper. The faith of the idolater must be elevated before it is altogether safe or wise to cast down his idols from the high places in the groves that elevates this enterprise and makes it noble. It is not a mere campaign for the subjugation of alien races and the overthrow of alien faiths; rather is it an embassy for the emancipation of alien and dependent peoples and their incorporation in the freedom of this rich spiritual experience which we claim for ourselves. It is not an effort to enforce a new creed upon a people, but to evoke richer experience and a richer faith; it is doing what the great Teacher from the skies taught us to do, not to deny but to affirm, not to destroy but to fulfill the great purposes of the Almighty with reference to all His children by bringing them into contact with the richest spiritual experience of our race. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a great vision of service that Dr. Chamberlain has so convincingly and inspiringly set before us. Here is the responsibility resting on you and me of affirming and confirming the spiritual mastery of life. Let us take up that responsibility with joy and confidence and with high resolve.

Our next speaker is DR. LEONARD P. AYRES, Director of the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation. (Applause).

A DOCTRINE OF EMANCIPATION OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES THROUGH EDUCATION

ADDRESS BY LEONARD P. AYRES, PH.D.

Sixteen years ago this convention departed from its time-honored program of considering exclusively the problems of the Indian and discussed the relationship existing between our nation and the people of Porto Rico. Four years later the innovation had come to be a permanent feature and the Mohonk conference became a meeting for the regular discussion of the problems of other dependent peoples as well as those of the Indian.

In the years that have since elapsed it has been the object of this conference to consider as dependent peoples the inhabitants of the Philippines and Porto Rico and not to admit others into this category. This determination has been frustrated by the logic of events. Other peoples have become in greater or less degree dependent on our nation and their problems in turn have demanded recognition. In the past ten years this conference has discussed the relations existing between our nation and the peoples of Porto Rico, the Philippines, Samoa, Guam, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Panama, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, and Guatemala.

A careful study of the scores of able addresses constituting this great mass of deliberation shows that the one central theme around which all the discussion has centered can be summed up in the question, "How nearly ready are these people for self-government?"

All this reflects a situation that constitutes one of the most important problems now confronting the American people. It is a problem that is rapidly growing in complexity and extent and which current political developments threaten to make even more acute and imminent. Briefly this problem is the following: Far-reaching influences which are increasing in effect have brought within our supervision or control a dozen alien peoples in little more than that numbers of years and threaten to add to the list in the near future. Since it is impossible for the American people to tolerate permanently playing the role of a conquering nation or deliberately holding domain over subject colonies, our national attitude toward these dependent peoples is expressed in the ever-repeated question of this conference, "When will they be ready for self-government?"

Our national answer to that question is to be found in the printed proceedings of the Mohonk conferences. It is that we do not know and that we have no test by which to find out. We hope it will be soon. Year after year the representatives of these alien peoples assure us that they are now ready for self-government and at the same meetings the representatives of our own government, fresh from service in these foreign lands, assure us that no judgment could be more remote from expressing the true condition of affairs.

This recurring contradiction of testimony is one of the great barriers standing in the way of any solution of the problems of these dependent nations. Each time the natives of these countries tell our nation that their people are now ready for governmental self-control and are contradicted by the representatives of our government, the result is that we as a nation are divided in our opinions, our government at Washington is uncertain as to what course it ought to pursue, and the national self-respect of the alien people is permanently wounded.

This serious situation will maintain until we as a nation formulate some test by which to gauge a country's preparedness for self-government. We can never settle it by mere argument and testimony. The laws of human nature make this impossible. Broadly speaking we are none of us willing to testify that those over whom we have exercised control and guidance ever reach the point when they are fully competent to dispense with our wisdom and aid. Parents are always certain that their children still need their advice and control. If New York State held domain over Massachusetts, the governor general appointed from Albany to direct the affairs of that New England commonwealth would ap-

pear on this platform and convincingly testify that the people of the Bay State were still far from being capable of exercising the privileges and duties of self-government.

It is my purpose in addressing you today to present for your consideration a doctrine by which we may measure the degree to which any nation or people has approached the goal of being able to establish and maintain popular control of its own government. This doctrine I would term the doctrine of emancipation through education. It is in brief the theory that a nation's capacity for self-government is proportional to the literacy of its inhabitants. At first thought the idea of judging capacity for self-government by the bare test of finding out what proportion of the people can read and write seems fantastic if not foolish. In proportion, however, as our available knowledge on the subject is carefully studied, these doubts disappear and the conviction grows that we have here a true test and one deriving its value from permanent and fundamental qualities of the human mind.

The first impressive fact supporting this theory is that there has never been a case in modern history in which an illiterate nation has succeeded in establishing a permanently successful form of popular government, and there has never been a case in which a highly literate nation has failed in the task of self-government. It is impossible to review all the evidence here in detail, but careful study will show that popular government has progressed with the least interruption in countries like our own and those nations of Central and Northern Europe where there has been relatively little illiteracy for more than a century past. Efforts at the permanent establishment of popular self-control have failed in France and Spain when a majority of the people were illiterate and have succeeded in the former country when a preponderant proportion became literate.

Notable instances of almost complete failure are found among the Spanish-American republics with their high degrees of ignorance while the apparent successes of some of them are found only in those instances where illiteracy is being conquered. It seems impossible to find any exception to the rule that no illiterate nation has succeeded in establishing self-government and no literate nation has failed.

A second body of testimony is afforded by the figures which show that among the leading nations of the world there is an unbroken correspondence between ability for self-government and the prevalence within the population of the ability to read and write. Reliable figures are available showing the amounts of illiteracy for thirty-one countries. In most cases they show the proportion of people above the age of ten who cannot read or write. If we arrange these countries in a descending order so as to put the most enlightened ones at the top of the list and those with the

highest percentage of illiteracy at the bottom, we find that they fall into two large groups and one little one.

First come fourteen of the most enlightened nations of undoubted capacity for self-government. In all of these countries more than three-fourths of the people can read and write and in five of them education is so nearly universal that less than one per cent of the people are illiterate. These nations, with their percentages of illiteracy are the following: Germany . ., Sweden . ., Norway . . Denmark . ., Switzerland . ., New Zealand 2, Transvaal 4, Australia 4, United States 8, Belgium 13, France 14, Ireland 17, Canada 17, Austria 23.

Next we have a little transition group of two countries in which the percentages of illiteracy fall between 25 and 50 per cent. These countries are Italy in which 38 people in each 100 cannot read or write and Hungary in which 41 per cent are unable to do so.

In the third place we have a list of fifteen less enlightened countries. Here more than half of the people are illiterate. Almost without exception these are the nations that are still incapable of genuine popular government. In the case of most of them this is so certain as to elude doubt. Several of them have tried the experiment and failed. The two or three about which some question might fairly be raised are those in which the percentage of illiteracy is least. These countries are the following: Chile 50, Philippines 56, Cuba 57, Greece 57, Spain 59, Roumania 61, Bulgaria 66, Porto Rico 67, Russia 70, Portugal 73, Mexico 75, Servia 79, Bolivia 83, India 92, Egypt 92.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of this comparison lies in the fact that with only two exceptions this long list of thirty-one nations divides itself into two great groups. Nearly half of them make up the group of enlightened nations in which less than one-quarter of the people are illiterate. The other and larger group consists of these countries in which more than half of the people are illiterate. The reason for this division into these two groups is that intelligence and ignorance both tend to perpetuate themselves. Hence most nations classify themselves in one group or the other. Few are found in an intermediate position.

It will be argued that the mere matter of literacy is not the deciding factor in determining the abilities of these peoples for self-control in national affairs. The answer is that in all probability this is precisely the factor which ultimately determines and largely constitutes capacity for self-government. It is not by chance that in this list of thirty-one nations there is an unbroken correspondence between the degree of literacy in the population and the capacities of the peoples for self-government. It is not by chance that history gives no instance of an illiterate nation that has succeeded or of a literate nation that has failed in the task of popular government.

Reading and writing are the foundation stones of democracy because the very basis of that form of government is the ability of the people to organize for a common interest and to work toward a common destiny. This capacity we call by such names as "patriotism" or "public spirit" but the essential characteristic of it is that it is the ability to unite in community action. Now community action on a large scale is based on communication and the connection between the two words is an essential one and not merely a verbal resemblance. Common understanding and community of action are the product of communication. In modern civilized states this means the ability to read newspapers. In proportion as a race masters the ability to communicate and receive thought by means of printed words, it acquires the possibility of united action. This is what the sociologists term "like-mindedness." It is the quality that makes it possible for men to act together in a common cause. Up to the present time the human race has discovered no method of widespread communication save the newspaper and no way of arriving at common understanding and community of action save through this form of communication. This is why reading and writing are fundamental to the successful maintenance of popular government. And this is why the capacity of a people for self-control through the forms of democracy is proportionate to the degree of literacy existing among them.

These fundamental principles were clearly appreciated by the founders of this republic. The literature bearing on the essential relation between the ability to read and write and the capacity for self-government is not to be found in books of pedagogy or in volumes on the history of education but rather in the writings of Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe. Each of them discussed the problem in detail. All of them arrived at the same conclusion, and what they thought and wrote is best summed up in Jefferson's declaration, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

What has happened among our neighbors of the Caribbean Sea and Central America was clearly foreseen by Monroe who wrote, "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or perhaps both." The fathers of our country realized that the ability to read and write distinguished those who may share in common thought and take part in community action from those whose minds are shut off from the sources of knowledge that make such action possible.

It is with these principles in mind that I present for your consideration the doctrine that our relations with dependent peoples should be based on the principle that capacity for self-government is dependent on the general diffusion throughout the population of the ability to read and write.

When these dependent peoples come under our direct supervision it is our national policy to grant them increasing degrees of self-government as rapidly as they can profitably exercise such duties. In accord with the doctrine here suggested, these increasing grants of self-government should be made proportionate to the amounts of literacy in the population as revealed by successive censuses.

The results of applying these principles to the government of a dependent people can be clearly foreseen. Such a nation would be informed that the degree of self-government that it might attain would depend on its success in dispelling ignorance and substituting enlightenment among its people. Acrimonious discussion as to whether or not its people were or were not fit to administer the processes of democracy would be done away with. The people of the nation would realize that they could not aspire to ultimate independence until the diffusion of education among them had become general. Such a country would be experiencing in everyday life the condition about which our orators talk in which education would truly constitute the foundation of their liberty. In such a country the ideas and ideals, the traditions and aspirations of politics would be those of carrying forward successful plans of popular education. The most successful politician would be the best educator.

I present this doctrine for your consideration because it has the sanction of history, because its validity is upheld by a study of present conditions of government and education in countries throughout the world, and because it is founded on a solid psychological basis. It is the doctrine of emancipation through education. Public expenditures for public education pay but one sort of dividend. This dividend takes social form in the shape of minds that are trained to think straighter, more sequentially, more logically, more incisively. The nation in which popular government is based on universal enlightenment possesses the only sure safeguard of democracy and has, moreover, the certainty of turning out more and more well-trained minds equipped to grapple with its problems and crowd them for solution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I find the last paper a bit provocative. The kernel of the address is contained in the closing sentences. I cannot agree with some of the conclusions of the speaker for I am not willing to admit that education can be so easily summed up. In his closing sentences, the speaker directed our attention to a larger definition of education. Is education information or is it power? Does it consist in reading and writing or in such capacity as we have seen illustrated here this morning, the capacity to see facts and to draw just inferences from those facts? Is education what we discover from textbooks, or is it the capacity to see clearly, to think independently, to imagine vividly and to will nobly? If you

will permit me that definition of education, and I do not care by what means or methods you arrive at that conclusion, then gladly do I admit the force of what Dr. Ayres has said to us.

Further, I am a little inclined to be skeptical about the testimony with which he began. I am not ready to admit the incapacity of intelligent and disinterested observers to justly rate and judge the power of self-government. I think that we can rely reasonably well on the judgment of qualified persons. I do not observe in my experience that American parents, for instance, are apt to distrust the capacity for self-government in their children or to delay independency. I submit that one of the greatest happinesses in a man's life is when he can take off his hat to the superior ability or courage or self-control of his son or his daughter.

We are now to have a discussion of these important topics and I have been asked to invite to open the discussion, DR. PAUL MONROE, Professor of History of Education, Teachers' College at Columbia, who has had special opportunity to study educational affairs in the Philippine Islands. (Applause.)

THE SERVICE OF EDUCATION TO DEPENDENT PEOPLES

REMARKS BY PAUL MONROE, PH.D.

The general question we have had before us this morning is one of perennial interest and discussion. It was begun by the ancient philosophers and has continued to the times of the latest debating society which considers the relative influence of "mud vs. blood" in the shaping of progress. The problem is, what are the fundamental influences forming character and controlling nations? Are they those which nature determines, or are they those which are under the influence and control of man?

We are here primarily concerned with the forces which can be controlled by man. The old students of the problem of shaping man to a higher type had a very great advantage over the present generation in that they eliminated from consideration all who by their nature were incapable of being improved or educated. That was the philosopher's way of meeting the situation. Aristotle said that there are these two groups of influences,—the one composed of natural factors including heredity and environment, the other furnished by man. Over heredity we have no control; therefore we will eliminate this factor and consider only those people who are capable of responding to the forces directed by man. Upon them we will bring to bear the forces which we call education; we will improve their character, shape them to our purposes, and thus determine the lines of progress.

Our problem in the present time, in the present generation,

particularly the problem in which this Conference is interested, is quite different. We consider every individual that comes into the world to be capable of some improvement, and seek the best way to raise each to the highest good possible for him. We grant the fact which the ancient scientist has pointed out; namely, that there are some fundamental forces of nature over which we can have little or no control, such as those of heredity, and some of those of environment, such as climate. But granting this, our problem is how to meet our obligation to society by directing those forces which are subject to control. How can we solve the problem of modifying—or side-stepping, as it were—the detrimental influences due to inheritance and, taking things as they are, elaborate or manufacture forces which we can control so as to offset these limiting forces of nature? Now there are various ways of getting at this. Aristotle said there were three forces shaping man and shaping society,—nature, training, and instruction. Nature, we will say, consists of both heredity and environment; the other forces, those under the control of man, constitute what we would call in the broadest sense education. But the point which I wish to emphasize for the moment is not the distinction between two phases of the natural forces under which we must labor, heredity and environment, but the twofold nature of the force which is under the control of man; that is, education as composed of training and instruction.

It has been pointed out here a number of times, particularly by our presiding officer in his opening remarks and in the remarks just preceding the few words I have to say, that the fundamental mistake which we have made in the past is that of identifying with the process of instruction all the influences which we may bring to bear upon the rising generation. The error is the same whether this instruction be religious or intellectual. The truth is that the fundamental thing in education, as was seen by these men of past generations, is not instruction but training or the formation of habit. Only after habit of the desired kind, whether industrial, economic, moral, social, or intellectual, has been formed is it profitable to give instruction. For instruction simply makes rational those habits which are already formed and the forming of which was recognized as of importance. Then training must again fix the habit.

This new proposition regarding the education of the Indian, explained to us yesterday, shows that we are finally recognizing that our early efforts laid too much stress on instruction. We gave the Indian ideas about things instead of training him in habits of doing things. Much of his instruction has been in the air. We cannot rationalize a method of living or a habit until the habit has been formed. Instruction is of no particular value unless it is realized in conduct. I submit that this is as true in religious

education as in intellectual. The fundamental thing should be the formation of habits, moral habits, habits of living; and then instruction of the kind we have been giving and making so much of in our school work can be added.

This is the great truth, I think, which our experience in the Philippines has revealed. We began there by trying to elevate those people to our standards, to our ways of looking at things and of doing things, wholly by a process of instruction. A very brief experience showed that such education was not effective. Then our policy changed. Effort was directed toward giving the native new habits—habits of industry, habits of controlling his environment, habits of a hygienic character, all of the things which had to do with his actual living. Having done that, we are now giving him a certain amount of instruction to tell him what it is all about and how he may continue to develop along these lines. Now we are trying to apply this idea to the Indians and even to our own education.

I think that this truth or principle is fundamental. On this ground I partially disagree with my colleague, Dr. Ayres. Following the remarks of our chairman, I suggest that after all the real test of the efficient citizen is not literacy—that while literacy is an essential factor, it is really a means and not an end. The ability to read is particularly important in bringing about such uniformity of ideas and of information as enables individuals to act together. But if literacy is that and nothing else, it is not an adequate index of true social worth. I would suggest that you might make a list of the nations in the order of their literacy and find that they would take the same rank in the scale of civilization if they were judged by the extent to which they use tooth brushes, or wear shoes or white collars or cravats. All these things go together and are, as you might say, parts of the same test. It is true that literacy is far more important and fundamental than these other qualities. But the ability to read and write is not the all essential thing in education we make it, though it is a very important one both in education and in the civilization of mankind.

But it is to the interest of the group here to work toward a broader vision of the truth, to realize that just as there are these two factors of nature, heredity and environment, so there are the other two of education, training and instruction. Then shall we see that we have been on the wrong track for a long time and that we are just beginning to adapt ourselves to a new and better way of controlling education, our great instrument for avoiding or minimizing the deleterious influences of nature. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The conference is now open to any member who wishes to discuss the subject.

MR. R. D. HALL: I trust that my good friend will forgive me if I say anything about him, but I think it would be a very pleasant thing for this Conference to have Mr. Parker as the President of the Society of American Indians and also coming from the American Indian race, being himself a Seneca, to give us a few words along this line. May I be forgiven in saying, perhaps, that he is red hot from the crucible of the laboratory of which we have been speaking this morning?

THE CHAIRMAN: We will be very glad to hear from Mr. ARTHUR C. PARKER. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY MR. ARTHUR O. PARKER

I did not follow the discussion with the idea of formulating a reply. Naturally, however, a certain flow of thought came into my mind as these subjects were discussed. As to the question of literacy, the United States Census Bureau, in making its record, simply took the ability to read and write as the test, and as I have heretofore indicated in public statements, a Navajo shepherd who could simply keep account of the number of sheep sold was accounted as being as literate as a college professor. Among our own American Indians according to the United States Census, a little more than fifty per cent are literate, and yet, in proportion to their number, the American Indians in the United States have more individuals, men and women, in the various learned professions than any other races represented in this complex mixture of bloods in our nation. There are more physicians, (including full-bloods, men and women), there are more lawyers, clergymen and teachers among the American Indians than those, say, even of English, or Scotch, or German descent. According to their number, also, the American Indians by blood have more representatives in the United States Congress, (elected by white people to be sure) two Senators and several Congressmen, each of whom plays an important part in national affairs. These men in the Congress, to be sure, are mixed bloods, three of them having a mixture of blood about one-half Indian and one-half white. To Dr. Davenport I would like to say that in my study of blood mixture among the races in America, especially of the American Indian and the Caucasian, I find that the healthy white person who has had a normal environment and good heredity, who intermarries with an Indian of equal training and education or at least of a clean physical environment, produces healthy progeny with capacities equal to those of the dominant race. The unhealthy Indian woman or Indian man who intermarries with the other race and who marries a diseased person of low moral standards, is quite likely to produce progeny on the same social and moral scale, if not below it.

After all, in this question of the contact of races, it is one of competency. The dictum of our friend, General Pratt, is "to civilize the Indian, put him in civilization;" take him out of his old environment and, in civilization, forced to compete with people schooled by years of training, the Indian will learn the habits of trade and commerce and take on the social habits of the people among whom he mingles, and with whom he competes. The "Pratt system" is simply that of taking the dependent people and putting them in competition with the dominant race, and he believed, and demonstrated in many cases, that the Indian, placed in a world full of civilization, was able to survive and take his place among other Americans. I commend that doctrine to your attention and to the attention of those who are trying to solve this Indian problem. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I recall a pungent saying here some years ago to the effect that if you always carry an Indian on a Government transport, he will never learn how to paddle his own canoe. Is there any further discussion?

DR. HILL: It strikes me that Dr. Ayres did not mean to say that power is not the real thing in education, but that literacy is the index of a nation's thought; that by measuring along the line of literacy or illiteracy, you have something of the measure of power and capacity. I hardly think he would mean to say that ability to read and write, in and of itself, is sufficient but as a means to an end, and as an index of the condition of the people, it is.

DR. MONROE: In connection with our present bill proposed for controlling immigration, that is exactly the thing we have done or proposed to do,—make it an index of power and admit people or keep them out on the basis of literacy.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is why three presidents have vetoed the bill.

A MEMBER: Since the attention of the Conference has been called to the Indian, I should like to say that while, theoretically, I agree with Dr. Monroe, I think that practically it would be a great mistake not to emphasize, to the highest degree, the importance of giving all people the knowledge of reading and writing. When I visited the Navajo reservation three years ago, I found that the missionaries among that people were not able to speak the language, and though we had them under our control for years, we were not able to give to them the Christian religion or the simplest elements of our civilization because we had not handed them our language, the power to read our sacred book, the power to come into communication with our press. No man can plow fields who cannot handle a plow and no man can do carpenter work who cannot

handle tools, and the essential tools of our civilization are reading and writing; if you cannot put those tools in the hands of the various races of this country, the Indian race and others, we will never Christianize them or civilize them. Therefore, for practical purposes, it is impossible to insist too much on the importance of spreading the knowledge of reading and writing. (Applause.)

DR. DE SCHWEINITZ: I wish to voice again an old fundamental truth; we hear so much emphasis laid upon education and sanitation and the other things we are trying to do by means of governmental power and legislation, that we are in danger of forgetting that the first things must come first, and we will not civilize the Indian, or the Filipino or anybody else until we first bring to them a knowledge of salvation through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. That must come before reading and writing. I think we were all intensely interested in the presentation of Mr. Davenport's paper on heredity and Dr. Huntington's on climate this morning, and I listened with the keenest interest and with pure intellectual enjoyment, and yet if we seek to attack the questions before us from this natural basis, a certain feeling of despair and hopelessness comes over us. So I think we need to bring out the thought, and to emphasize it, that after all we believe in a supernatural religion, in a religion which can overcome nature, can overcome heredity and environment. As a matter of fact the historic development of the Church proves this. We have sent our missionaries into every country, and in spite of climate, environment and heredity we have built up a new civilization. When we think of the blood-thirsty inhumanity of the Ugandas as they were before the missionaries went there, and see what they are now, we have a living testimony of a supernatural power, of a power from the outside, which regenerates peoples. When I remember that when the missionaries landed at Mapoon, in North Queensland, Australia, they saw the remnants of a cannibal feast held a few days before their arrival and that now it is a civilized and Christian community there, I realize it was brought about *not* by education, *not* by teaching them to read and write, nor by the power of logical reasoning, nor by getting them to pass resolutions that it was ill-advised to eat their fellow human beings, but that they were changed by a new life entering into them and then the rest followed. I feel again and again in these intensely interesting discussions that we lose sight of the fact that all our own education, that all our own wise legislation, that all our hygienic rules and our sanitation and all the rest of it came after we first had enjoyed the blessings of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I still suspect that the spread of the Gospel will not be handicapped by increasing intelligence and knowledge;

it is still part of the commandment that Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy mind as well as with all thy heart and soul. DR. AYRES, it is always gratifying when one of the speakers can reply to any misinterpretation of his message, and it is particularly gratifying when he gets back at the Chairman. (Laughter.)

DR. AYRES: I think it is possible, in just a moment, to throw a bit more light on this disturbing proposition. I said at the outset that the mere proposition that the ability to read and write was an index of ability for self-government, seemed fantastic, if not foolish—it evidently seemed both to a number of people in the audience. (Laughter.) I think that the reason is that we do not stop, when we first hear that proposition, to think carefully enough of the fundamental nature of a communication. Dr. Monroe thinks of it as something important as a white collar or the use of a toothbrush is important,—something that is perhaps a partially reliable indicator of another bigger quality further on but in itself little more than that. I think we cannot rightly take that stand. If you have something to tell to your neighbor, the telling of that changes that something and changes you. You think, "How can I get that over to him? In other words, how can I re-state this thought or even this telling about this event so that it will appeal to him?" That is essentially social in its nature, that is essentially altruistic. Now, if you have got to tell it to three people, you think quite carefully, what are the elements in this that are common elements that will appeal to them? It is a socializing process; communication is a socializing process, it does something to the communicator and to the one who receives the communication, something very, very fundamental; that is the real difference between us and the animals. We live in a world of words and thoughts expressed through words, as they live in a world of things and memories of things. Civilization has grown up through that sort of use of words. To those among us who can use words so as to influence the rest of us, society gives its great rewards. Why that works in that way, I have tried to indicate in the development of self-governing ability. I think it is because, when you have a people almost entirely ignorant, each parent wants his son to become like himself. Unless he is coming into pretty close contact with the outside world in which people "read and write" he does not want his boy to read and write. Teach that father to read and write, and he says, "I want my boy to have more education than I have;" so that it works in the two extreme directions. Now this process of teaching a nation to read and write is a slow process. During the long swing from almost complete illiteracy to almost complete literacy among nations that try very hard indeed, it goes at the rate of 1% a year; it begins

more slowly and it ends up more slowly. Ireland has dropped 50% in 50 years, and when she passed the 25% mark, she insisted on self-government so that other people could not disregard the insistence. Our Negroes in our southern states have dropped 30% in 30 years. Porto Rico has gone forward 13% in 11 years. There are many other illustrations, to show that this is a long process. The reaction of several of the commentators has been, "If you could go into Mexico and teach everybody to read and write, you would not have a self-governing nation." Granted, because if you could teach them next year to read and write, you would not have; but you couldn't do that. If you could get Mexico down to the 25% point in about 50 years of very hard trying, with an entirely stable government, with pretty ample revenues, constantly increasing, and with everybody striving to attain that end, there is a real reason why. When you finally had attained that end, you would have a very different setting from the one that you think of when you consider the question that is presented. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This session is now adjourned.

Fourth Session

Thursday, October 19th, 1916, 8 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are to resume, at this session, the consideration of some of the fundamental problems in the government of dependent peoples, and our first speaker is to be MR. NORBERT LYONS, the Associate Editor of *The Manila Daily Bulletin*. (Applause.)

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RACE CONTACT

ADDRESS BY MR. NORBERT LYONS

The subject of race contact has not been accorded enough attention and study in the past. Various phases of it have been discursively treated in the realms of anthropology, political economy, sociology and history, but there seems to have been no serious effort to scientifically systematize, analyze and synthesize the knowledge gained by a study of events and results growing out of the contact of races. A better understanding of the laws and principles underlying the harmonious contact of races would have been of incalculable benefit to the world. The European cataclysm could not have occurred had the European statesmen been possessed of a thorough appreciation of the essential problems of race contact. Such problems have presented themselves from the dawn of history, and history has offered a wealth of material for profitable deduction and constructive generalization. Yet the world seems to have made but little use of this material. Moreover, the great world religions, adopted by a large majority of the human race, would seem to be ethically sound enough to have precluded some of the disastrous and deplorable racial clashes of history. Yet, after all these centuries of experience and religious propaganda we find the world plunged into as barbaric and unenlightened a series of wars, of a quasi-racial character, as mankind has ever witnessed. Not only that, but, unless something is done to prevent it, the greatest and bloodiest politico-economical conflict, that arising out of the contact of the white and yellow races, is bound to take place in the not very distant future. Its preliminary bloodless stages have already been entered upon the shores of the Pacific.

In the past, statesmen have approached problems of racial contact either without any previous first-hand investigation or study or with preconceived notions based largely on untempered racial prejudice or unsound theories. I am referring, of course, mainly to racial problems in the larger sense, in which the five

great general racial divisions are involved. The great exception has been the case of the United States with respect to the Philippines. The instructions of President McKinley to the first Philippine Commission, in which our Philippine policy was outlined, will in my opinion, go down in history as one of the most exalted and most astute state papers ever penned. It laid down a definite policy as affecting the relations of peoples of two different races, based on purely altruistic grounds and entirely at variance with the European practice. It was a policy worthy of the first true democracy of modern times, and almost inspired in its practical wisdom and prophetic vision, as viewed in the light of subsequent events. The adoption by all the nations of an international policy similar to the colonial policy of this country would in a large measure tend to obviate war in the future, for its principles are those of the Golden Rule and the rule of Live and Let Live.

Now what is the essential difference between the conventional European theory of race contact and that of the United States? The European is a firm believer in the absolute superiority of the white race to all others and its right to world dominion, while the American believes in the basic equality of mankind and the right of every human being, irrespective of race, to liberty and the unrestrained, legitimate pursuit of happiness. The European in dealing with other races regards racial prejudice as a legitimate and controlling factor, while the American colonial policy discounts racial prejudice and attempts to work out its problems on a basis of justice and equality. The European policy has resulted in material gains for the ruling race, but in general social and political dissatisfaction and unrest among the dependent peoples; it has discouraged educational progress and widened the racial gulf. The American policy, as exemplified in the Philippines, has resulted in marvellous material, political, sociological, and moral progress among the dependent race as well as in the development of a better feeling between the two races. One has been a policy of selfish self-aggrandizement, the other a policy of altruistic regeneration.

Aside from the comparative practical results of the two schools of colonial administration, the European policy is fundamentally wrong in principle. There is no such thing as absolute racial superiority. The term "superiority" is purely relative. It implies a process of comparison and every comparison to be valid must have a fixed, well-defined, unimpeachable standard. Now what has been the standard of comparison used in advocating the superiority of the white race? It has been our modern civilization. At first sight it might seem perfectly valid but a little examination will show that it is inadequate for the purpose and not unimpeachable. Civilizations have differed in type; they have risen and fallen; and there are people who will state, and

not without a great show of reason, that our European civilization of today is a failure in so far as its development of human character is concerned. The only academic comparative statement as to the general quality of races that we can make is that each race is best adapted to life in its own natural habitat. From this standpoint each race may therefore be regarded as being superior to that extent. Europeans make the mistake of judging other races by the arbitrary standard of their own civilization, which is intimately associated with their own climate and natural environment. In drawing general comparisons differences due largely to these factors are considered as points of inferiority. Because a people have a different language, customs, physical characteristics, social institutions and conventions, and display many other superficial points of difference, they are considered as being of an inferior type, and, on the theory of the survival of the fittest, not worthy of the right to work out their own salvation.

This notion of the theory of the survival of the fittest is also fundamentally wrong, for it also takes as its basis of comparison or judgment the arbitrary standards of our modern civilization, with its marvellous control over the forces of nature and its extensive and well-developed utilization of these forces for military offence and defense. The practical application of this notion results in the establishment of a rule of the survival of the physically strongest, which is by no means natural. If it were, the mastodon and ichthyosaurus would still inhabit the earth. The law of the survival of the fittest, rightly interpreted, is a natural one but it makes allowances, *a priori*, for climate and environment. Nature does nothing haphazard. She has placed each race in a natural habitat where the human organism of each type can best perform its functions. What is unnatural is unwholesome. It is unnatural and unwholesome for one race to attempt by physical force to enslave or supplant another race in its natural habitat.

Racial prejudice in an aggravated form marks the attitude of the European toward the darker races. The underlying notion in connection with this prevailing type of racial prejudice is that the five races are essentially distinct species of humanity. That this assumption is false is proven by the fact that the different races interbreed freely and the mixtures are fertile. Anthropologists have established this fact beyond any doubt by means of extended investigations. However, it cannot be denied that a natural psychical gulf does arise when representatives of different races come in contact for the first time. But it is also a fact that this gulf can readily be bridged. This reciprocal psychological reaction is not fundamentally due to racial causes but is rather the natural result of the contact of human units presenting marked physical and psychological differentiae. The same psychological phenomenon is noted when individuals of the same race, differing

in a similar manner, come in direct contact for the first time. Two white men of different physiques, temperaments, educations, and social standings experience the same psychological reactions as when a white man and a negro meet for the first time. It by no means follows, however, that this condition obviates a genuine *entente cordiale*. Innumerable instances can be presented from the personal experiences of almost any one to discredit the theory of permanent incompatibility in such instances. A white man, a Negro, a Malay, a Chinese, and an American Indian, if brought up together from infancy, would display no racial prejudices or animosities. It is quite clear that so-called racial prejudice as between individuals is not an unsurmountable contact obstacle and may be entirely discounted if conditions are favorable and there is a mutual desire for its elimination.

Now what is possible as between individuals is also possible as between the large groups of individuals called races. This age, particularly in this century, has been one of great progress along the lines of organization, cooperation and community of interests in the economic field. The interests of the individual have been increasingly subordinated to the interests of the many. The forward strides taken by socialism and the labor movement are proof of this tendency. Also, with the rapid spread of civilization and constantly improving means of communication the political units of the earth called states are being brought into closer contact with each other. Racial contact, naturally, is affected similarly. Nations and races, no matter how far they may be separated physically, are more dependent on each other than ever, have greater common interests and greater clashing interests. Unless they abandon the individualistic selfish point of view toward each other it will be increasingly difficult to avoid armed clashes. It is clear that there is an urgent necessity for a change in the international viewpoint. The old, selfish, governmental theories must be abandoned and a more intelligent altruistic outlook must be generally adopted.

It follows that if the great political and racial human units are to fulfill their future earthly destinies in peace the primitive racial animosities must be conquered, preliminary to other necessary adjustments. A study of past racial conflicts will lead to the conclusion that at bottom they were not caused by racial animosities but rather by economic causes. Racial prejudice, however, played its part, and a very important one, in serving as a very convenient peg for material justification on the part of those who deliberately precipitated such conflicts. What, for example, were the real causes of the European war? No satisfactory answer has as yet been adduced and none that will stand the test of right and reason ever will be. This tremendous world catastrophe was precipitated rashly through a yielding to racial animosities, econ-

omic greed forming the basic, underlying motive. It constitutes a horrible and discouraging commentary on modern civilization. There need not be and there should not be any such human passion as bitter unreasoning race prejudice. Patience, adherence to established ethical standards, and good sense will surely overcome such a tendency in individuals and these same principles of conduct will be equally prolific of beneficial results as between groups of individuals such as nations and races.

The present situation as regards the white people of America and the yellow people of Japan presents elements that will inevitably lead to armed conflict unless the points of view of both sides are altered in the direction of mutual appreciation and cooperation, scientific adjustment of difficulties, and elimination of racial prejudices. A step in the right direction has already been taken by the ratification of the Root-Takahira agreement, a result of rare far-sighted statesmanship. Japan is living up to her part of the agreement. The real danger lies on this side of the Pacific. The racial animosities of the people of California, a cloak for economic fears and bogeys having no basis in reason, unless checked and counteracted by the central government and enlightened public opinion, are liable to set fire to the match that might start a monster conflagration. In Japan economic causes of another sort are causing a certain portion of the populace to flaunt its racial prejudices, thus adding to the general danger; but in that country public opinion is more amenable to governmental control and may therefore be held in leash by wise statesmanship. There is a real need in this situation for the new statesmanship, a renunciation of the old European, militaristic, dog-in-the-manger statescraft. The old, outworn national individualism must be replaced by a new altruistic national communism. The end of the European war will in all likelihood see the world-wide adoption of the new point of view, but the exigencies for the adoption of the new statescraft and its practical application may arise in this country sooner than that, and it is fervently to be hoped that both countries will rise to the occasion. We must recognize and concede Japan's legitimate economical needs and political aspirations, and Japan must recognize and concede our own social and commercial necessities and obligations. In so far as basic points of difference and conflict of interests are concerned racial prejudice plays but a small part in the situation. The real crux of the situation is of an economic nature. All that is required for an amicable adjustment of conflicting interests is a mutual willingness to lay aside all immaterial and superficial considerations, to make mutual allowances and concessions, to see the point of view of the other side, and a genuine desire to have right and reason prevail and not the doctrine of Might is Right. There are no fundamentally irreconcilable differences of principle in the situa-

tion, and there are statesmen of the requisite caliber in both countries to handle the negotiations; but the proletariats have not as yet been sufficiently impregnated with the great lessons of the European struggle. A vigorous campaign of public enlightenment toward this end would seem to be in order both in Japan and in the United States.

In conclusion let me reiterate my statement to the effect that the matter of racial contact has not been accorded the intensive study and scientific investigation it deserves from its importance in world affairs of today and the future. The era of blind racial animosities and opportunist statecraft is rapidly passing away with the evolution of the great struggle in Europe. The spirit of the new era is well exemplified in our national Philippine policy and we might well be proud of the standing it has given us and the pace it has set in the evolution toward world peace. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Business Committee informs me that some gentlemen whose names were announced on the original program have been unavoidably detained. Therefore, you will understand that the gentlemen upon whom I am about to call have all been drafted by your Business Committee and have responded, like good minutemen, to the call.

First I am going to turn to the man whose achievements in Cuba, in the Philippines and many another place have illustrated what American character and disinterestedness and highmindedness can accomplish in contact with dependent races, the man to whom we all instinctively turn for leadership in every chivalrous adventure, MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A., Commander, Department of the East. (Applause.)

A WORD ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS BY MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A.

I suppose this is a part of Dr. Eliot's strategy. He is out of ammunition but wants to make you think he has some. (Laughter.) We who have been unexpectedly called into service this evening are much in the condition, two or three of us especially, of the minutemen. We are willing but we are neither well equipped or well prepared.

I had the good fortune to spend a number of years in the Philippine Islands, serving there in various capacities both civil and military. I was appointed as the first governor of the Moro Province, a province embracing about half the great island of Mindanao and including the Sulu islands down to the coast of Borneo. I was also Commanding General of the Department of

Mindanao, which includes the islands south of the Visayas and the great island of Palawan and the islands down as far as the British possessions.

My instructions as governor were to establish civil government among the Moros. It was not an altogether simple proposition but it was interesting in many ways. It meant an immense amount of constructive work, which is always interesting. The problem presented many new questions and I was particularly anxious to see something of the methods employed by the British in handling their Mohammedan and other dependent populations. Lord Cromer had been good enough to ask me to come to Egypt and I spent several weeks there looking over as well as I could in this brief period his method of handling the relations between the British and the mixed races of Egypt especially the Mohammedan, one of the most difficult of situations and (only exceeded by the situation in India) one which he had handled with amazing skill and success. From there I went to Java to get as good an idea as possible of the Dutch method of dealing with their Mohammedan population. The Governor-General of the Dutch Indies was good enough to open up their administrative methods and extended every possible facility to examine into them as fully as time permitted. From Java I went to the Philippines and took up the work of organizing the Moros of the Southern Islands.

They are a brave, warlike people, intensely hostile to Christians at that time, the popular belief among them being that a good Moslam who dies in a fight with Christians goes straight to Heaven and finds there waiting for him a group of charming honri to lead him on ever afterwards a happy man, and when the crops are poor and home conditions disturbed, for men with plural wives have not only an increase of joys but also of troubles, he turns with more or less cheerfulness to the easy road to better conditions, seeking death in action as a means of gratifying religious prejudice and hate and incidentally, of escaping from local conditions. We had much difficulty and much hard fighting for the first two years, but after a time the worse features of the situation straightened out. Fighting became less frequent and more orderly conditions were established throughout the greater portion of the province. There were many subsequent appeals to arms, but not the almost constant strife of the early days. Spain had never succeeded in thoroughly conquering the Moros of the Southern Islands. Their status had always been one of quasi independence, interrupted by periods of nominal submission. The results attained were rendered possible by the loyal and unremitting service of various officers of the army, enlisted men and selected civilians. It was not the work of any one person. The success of the policy depended upon the loyal cooperation of all. In districts about the Christian settlements there was no difficulty in establishing order and

starting our school system going, also a system of public works. In the Mohammedan districts we were soon printing our school books in Arabic and beginning as well as we could, to teach the children of these strange people. That the teaching was not always altogether practical or appropriate was indicated by some of the songs which the Moro children used to sing on the breach in front of my quarters—"Land of The Pilgrims' Pride," etc.—but in any case their memories and faculties were being developed and they came along pretty well.

The Philippine problem is not a problem of a day, a year or even a generation, and it is only the most superficial and shallow observers who claim to have radically changed the people and built up conditions of stable government in a few years. In the first place, the people are not homogeneous; you have Christians who have advanced varying distances in civilization, some representing the European type of civilization; others with the cross as a fetich, Christianity meaning little more than a word. From this you go to the Head-hunters in the mountains. In the Southern Islands you have the Mohammedan fringe about the coast with here and there a Christian village. Intense antipathy existed between the Christian and the Moslam. Between them there had been constant war for nearly three hundred years. In the interior of the Southern Islands you had again the uncivilized savage—his wildness varying in degree from the tree dwellers to the tribes who were more or less in contact with people along the coast. You must remember that there were some sixty odd dialects in the Philippines and some fourteen or fifteen different languages; also that there were strong tribal differences even among the Christian tribes. The people of the Visayas were none too friendly to the Tagalogs of Luzon, and so on. You could mount your horse and ride in a day and a half from a well developed Christian settlement to the country of the Head-hunter and absolutely crude aboriginee.

Of course, this condition is rapidly passing away. We have commenced, and I emphasize the word "commence" (to distinguish the work from one which is finished) a very remarkable piece of constructive work—one of the best pieces of international uplift work that has ever been attempted. We have been actuated by the highest ideals and by the most generous and unselfish motives, and we have gone far and fast, but do not for a moment think that we have in any sense completed this work. Peoples are not changed over night. Racial characteristics and methods of thinking are not swept away in a moment. Spain did a great work in the Philippines as is appreciated by those who have travelled in the far East, especially in India, and realize how difficult is the government of that great collection of divers peoples with their numerous caste distinctions and different religions. When

you take the great Brahmin caste with its hundreds of subdivisions forming groups with sharp lines of difference, groups having little to do one with the other, and you realize that the caste distinctions in India run up to the thousands, you will appreciate the fact that those who preach the establishment of a democracy among these people are submitting a rather impractical proposition. The work which is being done there—a work which has resulted in peace and the betterment of sanitary conditions—is one of the great Christian civilizing works of the world—Christian in its broadest sense.

Spain went into the Philippines as she went into all the far corners of the earth. She was then the strongest and most vigorous of nations. Filled with the spirit of the missionary and with the spirit of colonization, she went with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, or to put it differently, with a loaf of bread in one hand and the sword in the other, and as an old missionary in the wildest part of the Philippines said, "We tried to induce them to take the bread; that is, to accept Christianity, of their own free will, and to use as little as possible the discipline of the sword." The purpose of these early missionaries was splendid, but like many great pieces of work, there was much which they and others regretted. They did accomplish certain things, however.

I am not going to discuss in detail the Spanish administration. Spain covered the world with colonies; planted Christianity in distant lands. She did a great work, a work which will be impressed upon you more and more if you ever see what actually was accomplished in that period. Spain built up in the Philippines a more or less homogeneous Christian mass of people, so far as the civilized class was concerned. The Spaniards established European forms of municipal and provincial government. They implanted the great civil code. They gave us something to work on, something not found elsewhere in the East—a Christian mass, much of it crude, but still a Christian mass with European form of organization, laws and administrative methods. Few people appreciate how great this work has been and how much more difficult would have been our problem if we had been called upon to meet conditions such as the Dutch have to struggle with in Java, for instance, where you have the Mohammedan and various other Eastern religions.

I can speak with very little authority about exact conditions in the Philippines today, because I have not been there for eight years, but when I was there I know that all over the Islands, north and south, good work was being done. The people were being gotten hold of; good missionary work, good school work and good civilizing work was being done everywhere. I have always felt that the Philippine question would begin to be solved in a practical way when the people in the houses, in the homes, were graduates of the public schools. As it is now, many a Filipino boy and girl

among the less civilized peoples is going home to a home where the parents are absolutely untaught, undeveloped natives, with little or no understanding of what the children are doing. In fact, looking at the problem in a broad way we are well on our way, but far from having completed our work. Education has gone a long way with some of those boys. Bishop Brent who was with me in camp this summer showed me some letters from an Igorot boy. They were marvellous letters when one considers how far that boy had been taken in a few years. Whether the result is a stable one, we cannot tell quite yet. There is a good deal in environment, a good deal in inheritance, a good deal in training, but this boy was writing really good letters, splendid letters, telling about his work in the University. His father and mother are Igorots of the primitive type, yet here was the boy in the University of the Philippines and doing pretty good work. That boy had been picked up and in the short period of a few years lifted over many centuries. Work of this kind is being done everywhere, but before we have a solid homogeneous mass, a stable population, there must be time to accustom these people to the new conditions and build up about them surroundings in accordance with the new ideas and the new education. The boy cannot return to the primitive hut of half savage parents and the two, the savage and the educated, meet upon common ground. Stable conditions will be secured only when the great bulk of the people have all gone through the civilizing and educational process. You cannot take 60 odd groups of people and give them a superficial veneer of education and say, "You are a stable, civilized people." You have a good many things to put into their heads and a good many things to put into their hearts; you have to build up national character. People also forget that there are very distinct racial groups, that the Ilacano is not over friendly with the man further south or with the man further north, but they are coming together under this tolerant and beneficial form of government; they have been advanced rapidly in government; they have now the two houses (assembly), upper and lower, and have practically the majority of the judiciary. Indeed, the government is largely in their hands, the final veto being very properly reserved for the President.

The bulk of the work is a good work, work we can all be proud of. The sanitary work has been remarkably good; the people have been brought to appreciate the value of that kind of work. There used to be a tremendous infant mortality; it has been greatly diminished—I cannot speak accurately, but I should say about 50% reduction in infant mortality. Good sanitary inspection work is being done throughout the Island. There is a good system of schools, a system of hospitals, a university with its professional schools. One of the most useful establishments in the Islands is the Bureau of Science which has devoted its time and energies to

studying the diseases and the resources of the Philippines, the development of their agricultural resources—timber and mines, fisheries, etc. This Bureau has been as valuable an asset as the Islands have had.

The Americans over there have played the game very unselfishly. This matter of racial instinct which you heard discussed to-night is something none of us can explain. The Almighty apparently gave it to us for our protection. It is universal all over the earth; it is one of the most fixed of characteristics, this pride of race, belief in the superiority of one's own. The Filipino believes in his future and capacity. The relations, however, between the white and brown races are very good. Of course, the Filipinos are Malays largely, with a very slight trace in certain regions of other blood strains, and a large mixture of Chinese and Spanish blood in some sections along the coast. They are a Malay race, like the people of Formosa and the great bulk of the people of Japan. The Malay near the Equator has always had a one man form of government. The Malay idea of government is generally a one man government, a despotic ruler. Their little rulers are not unlike those of feudal times. The Sultan of Sulu, for example, had the power of life and death and exercised it so unwisely that we had to depose him as an actual ruler but left him as head of the Mohammedan Church. He appealed to me on one point when I told him that his Sultanship no longer existed in temporal matters but only in spiritual matters, saying, "But how about selecting wives when I see women that please me?" I said "That's done away with." "Then," he said, "What's the use of being a sultan?" (Laughter). I said, "That is for you to determine, but you are going to be left as head of the Church." The purely spiritual power did not seem to appeal to him at all. (Laughter.) But finally he accepted the situation, changed his ways and he is the head of the Mohammedan Church, and what's more, a useful and good influence.

Our dealings with the Mohammedans were very interesting. We—I mean the Governor, the Provincial Council and the various agents of the Government—started in to do two things, to improve the condition of women and absolutely abolish slavery, slave hunting and trading—all these we accomplished. I had a great deal of faith in the aggressive nature of woman, and so we decided that the best way to undermine the vicious system with reference to women would be to give the Mohammedan woman an equal standing before the law; we gave her the right to seek redress in the courts of the Islands. Seven women to one man we felt sure would be able to take care of themselves once they understood their rights and made the man's life a burden. (Laughter.) They did it. We gave all people, both men and women, the right to appeal to the insular courts. It was not our policy to do away

with the little native courts. Each headsman, chief, dato or sultan, whatever his title happened to be, has his tribal ward or local court, a court of very limited jurisdiction. He could only impose minor punishments and small fines. Then came the district court, over which presided the district governor and with whom we associated local chiefs or selected representatives of neighboring tribes,—men learned, if the people were Mohammedans, in the Mohammedan faith, and if they were savages, in the tribal rights and customs. This court had a more extensive jurisdiction. It could impose more serious punishments. Appeals were allowed from these courts to the courts of the Islands. This was done in order to gradually influence the Moros and other savage people to seek redress not in the local insular courts, and little by little swing all cases into the insular courts. I felt certain that once they understood they had the right to appeal that they would make use of it; that like other people they would not be satisfied until they had reached the higher court. Of course, many minor cases were settled by the little local courts. The serious cases gradually found their way into the courts of the first instance, and I believe now that the insular courts handle most of the cases which come up except those of the purely police or trifling nature. Judicial procedure of the courts of the islands follows closely that of Spain, modified by us, but the basic law is the civil law or the code Napoleon.

The Moros are a well-behaved people, so far as alcohol dissipation is concerned. They practically do not drink at all. They are great gamblers; they are brave; they are generally honest; fatalists and full of suspicion of the Christian new-comers. They have a good deal of bone and sinew so to speak. They are determined and in time will make a very sturdy portion of the Philippine population. At the time of the conquest they were overrunning the Islands and their outposts were found at the mouth of the Pasig. Little by little they were driven back, but for over three centuries maintained a quasi independent status in the South Philippines. The school system and sanitary work which is being done among them has been very effective and brought about greatly improved conditions. We have in these Islands along the sea-coast, the Mohammedan population. This population runs up some of the great river valleys. They are grouped into little clans under their leaders, known as datos or panglimas, sultans, etc. Many of them trace their ancestry back to early days of history. They came, apparently, from the Malay Peninsula. Their ancestry were the old Malay pirates of the stories of our boyhood and girlhood days—the pirates who chased the ships and killed the crews. The bulk of this mass of forayers and pirates were found in the Sulu Archipelago along the south coast of Mindanao and along the north coast of Borneo. In the interior you

find less of the Mohammedan religion, but a considerable mixture of the coast stock. The interior type, generally speaking, is of the Malay group. Civilization varies along the sea coast. In the towns where there are Christian inhabitants it is fairly advanced and in the larger Mohammedan settlements you find comparatively good conditions. But civilization such as it is, shades off rapidly as you go into the interior and you soon find the wilder elements of the population—people some of whom are living in trees—all of whom are living under primitive conditions. This interior country is being opened up. These statements so far as they refer to the Mohammedans in the Philippines, relate wholly to the Southern Islands. In the Northern Islands, where the Spaniards had control for many years, you find a higher type of civilization and Christian churches preaching Christian doctrine. Little by little the priests and clergy are getting hold of the wild people of the hills. In the Southern Islands we tried to get hold of them through building up and improving trade conditions. They were rather timid about coming to the coast—afraid of being robbed and cheated. We gave them secure places to spend the night and provided at each of these stations a Government agent, charged with seeing to it that they received fair prices for their jungle products. The Chinese traders were, as a rule, rather unscrupulous in their dealings with these simple people and the protection afforded them at these stations was much appreciated. It cost very little or nothing to stay there. They received a fair price for their goods and little by little they became less timid and more trustful. The export of jungle products was enormously increased. We followed the same general principle with reference to fisheries and did everything we could to build them up and the result was a great increase in the fishing industry. The sea teems with valuable fish.

There has been very little fighting with the Moros or Mohammedans in recent years. Little by little conditions of peace are becoming firmly established. On the whole, you can feel that good work has been done among these people, but you must not for a moment imagine that we have created a homogeneous people with a well-settled policy. Out of these divers units it will be a long time before we can create a more or less homogeneous mass. When you talk of transforming the people, taking them from the mountains, from savage life, civilizing and educating them and building up a self-governing people, you are speaking of a performance which is measured not by years but really by generations. This has been the history of mankind and will be the history of these people.

The feeling between the two races, the white and the brown, is good. There is little in the way of real intimate relationship. There are very few intermarriages. Social relations are fairly

cordial, but the relationship seldom goes much beyond the more or less formal gathering. One of the strongest ultimate influences which will lead to the separation of these people from ourselves when they are capable of self-government, is, as I see it, in the fact that there is no intermarriage. In view of this condition, it does not seem probable that once capacity for self-government is fully established, that we should hold these people if they wish to establish themselves upon an independent basis. But first we have the work of education and training. I think there is a feeling of real gratitude in the Philippines toward the Americans. Of course, the shyster and the political faker are the men who appear on the scene and who often speak for honest people. We must not judge the Philippines or the Philippine sentiment by professional Filipino politicians. They wish to extend the scope of their influence and authority. The great mass of the people are moving along, living quietly, taking more and more advantage of the school, and if we handle the matter properly, we will in time form a stable and reliable people. In villages all over the Philippines and in remote out-of-the-way places, I found nothing but courtesy. There is, of course, all through the East, a rather low value set on human life and the taking of human life is not looked upon as seriously as it is among us. Little by little we have tried to impress upon them the fact that human life is sacred. I think if we could get hold of the real sentiment of the Filipinos we should find that it is one of appreciation and gratitude. They are glad to be out of the old days of Caciqueism or Bossism—a system under which one or two principal men really dominated the village and owned its people literally body and soul. They are coming to realize that they are all equal before the law and little by little the downtrodden tao or peasant is beginning to assert himself. It is a great work and one in whose progress we can justly take much of pride and satisfaction. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The army seems to be doing pretty well. I think we shall do well to stick for a while, to the military line. COLONEL C. D. WILLCOX, U. S. A. is now stationed at West Point, being formerly the chief of the Military Information Division at Manila. We shall be very glad if he, without advance notice, will say a word to us. (Applause.)

SOME TRAITS OF FILIPINO NATURE

REMARKS BY COLONEL C. D. WILLCOX, U. S. A.

You must imagine the northern part of the Island of Luzon, with which I am best acquainted and about which I shall say a few words, as filled with mountains of extreme complexity, both vertical and horizontal. These mountains are inhabited by about

400,000 people whom we are accustomed to call savages, but who, from an ethnological point of view, are not savages; they are the descendants of the first Malayan invasion of the Philippine Islands, driven into the highlands by their more warlike successors. They have remained there a great number of centuries. The orography of the country is so difficult that these people before our arrival had had practically no intertribal communication; worse yet, the elements of one and the same tribe had been hostile strangers to one another. They speak different languages and wear different costumes. They maintained their own existence in their little settlements wholly separate and distinct from everybody else. They were agreed, so far as we can make out, on only one thing, and that is that it was the first duty of a man to cut off the head of an adversary, not necessarily from a different tribe, but from a neighboring village even and bring it to his own village as a trophy of his prowess. The Spaniards tried to civilize these people in their own way. On the whole, they failed. The Dominicans made a noble effort to get at them and make them see the error of their ways. The army made its effort and it turned out to be a disastrous one; the Spanish army was almost completely driven out of the mountains of Northern Luzon by the people who lived there. There is one exception, both in the army and in the church, in the person of a Dominican friar named Villaverde, who came out from Spain in his boyhood and spent his entire time in the heart of one of the most bloodthirsty, cruel, and warlike tribes in the Archipelago, trying to convert them to the Christian religion and show them how much better they could live if they adopted the ways of peace.

When we took over the islands, the problem of the so-called Christian Filipinos was not specially difficult; as General Wood has pointed out, it was a matter of time, and of time we have plenty as the history of nations goes. But when it came to these people who lived in the mountains, that was a very different matter, for a sure way to commit suicide was to wander into one of their villages. They were so hostile that they had to mount guard over their rice fields when the rice was under cultivation; it was impossible to walk along a path alone; it was almost certain death to enter a neighboring village; it was certain death to go from one tribe to another; and not only that, but the country was inaccessible, it raised nothing that the white man could eat except rice; they had no meat, no vegetables; the streams were torrential and dangerous, yet there were those 400,000 people who had, by the fortunes of war, become a part of our responsibilities. We were fortunate enough at that time to have in the Commission Mr. Dean Worcester, a man of science, a man who would resent my saying so of him, but nevertheless a man of warm heart and sympathy, and he undertook the solution of this problem of the Head-

hunters, as they are universally called. It was not an easy problem, as he did not know their language and could find no one who did or if he did find them, could scarcely trust them. There were no trails—I shall not say roads—no streams that could be navigated, and yet he undertook to attack this problem and did it as a man of heart and courage does, by invading the country himself, alone, unaccompanied by troops or anybody that could protect him in case of danger. He was frequently in danger; he sat up one whole night in a little village in the north, in a hut in which he had been imprisoned, with an interpreter who translated for him the arguments between the head men of the village as to whether they should cut off his head the following morning or not. His majority was very narrow, but it was sufficient. I shall find it difficult, but nevertheless I shall try to make you understand what a great thing Mr. Worcester did out there. He did not do it alone, but was the inspiration of it. He set out to civilize these people, not by force, but in a practical way that they would understand, and he realized that the first thing to be done was to establish inter-communication between these warring tribes. If you go to that part of the country today, you will find over 1000 miles of excellent trails, and a great part of them so wide that you could drive a battery over them; you will find a people intermingling so freely and happily that, a few years ago, where an armed party going down along the mountain trails was sure to have a fight on its hands before it got to the end, women may now go alone, and do go alone fearlessly and in perfect safety. Mr. Worcester persuaded these people that it was a waste of energy for them to be eternally fighting with one another; that they would have more meat, more rice, more babies, if they would abandon their horrible practice of head-hunting and attend to the ways of peace. He has persuaded them, or before he left the service, he had persuaded at least one tremendous tribe, the most numerous of all, the Ifugaos, to abandon head-hunting, and it is no exaggeration whatever to say that the custom had been completely abandoned within their borders. As one went further north at that particular time, so much could not be said. The Bontoc Igorots were a little fiercer; they did take a few heads still four or five years ago. Still further north, we come to a beautiful tribe, the Kalingas. Only two years before we visited them, they were still in the full head-hunting stage of their civilization. When we passed there two years later, after Mr. Worcester's first visit to them, we went through their country fearlessly and unarmed. I recollect when Mr. Worcester asked me to go riding, with him that I asked him if I should take my revolver with me. He said 'No, leave your revolver at home; none of us are taking them; we go as men of peace,' and we rode through the entire country without being disturbed or molested, and received a welcome nearly everywhere. Not only that, but we took with us Ifugaos, mem-

bers of this warlike tribe, took them through a great part of the island with us and sent them back alone, a thing which really is marvelous and wonderful beyond description when you recollect that not three years before, every one of them would have lost his head before he had gone five miles. Mr. Worcester did not of course do all this work himself, nor am I here to hold a brief for him, though I will do it whenever necessary and from the bottom of my heart; of course he was assisted by other Americans. Here again he met a difficulty; he had to have Americans of courage, as you may imagine from what I have said, men of sympathy, men of justice and men of executive ability. Those four conditions are rather hard to combine in one and the same man, or woman for that matter, because women went also and they had to have the same qualities. But he succeeded; he got a few Americans in that part of the world, (for example, Gallman of the Ifugao Province). Another was Connor, (Yale, 1900); another was a grandson of the poet Bryant, still another was Hale of the Kalinga Province, as brave a man as ever walked and as good a man—they have since got rid of him. (Laughter.) But these men worked with him, they worked in sympathy and they worked justly. If we inquire for the causes at the bottom of this tremendous missionary effort, they will be found in the fact that our men up there from Mr. Worcester down to the humblest employee, never made a foolish promise, never made a promise that they could not fulfill, and always fulfilled the promises they did make. They respected the women, paid the men for their labor, were guilty of no violence of any sort whatever—a course of conduct in such marked contrast with that of the Spaniards, as I have been informed, and, I am sorry to say, too, of the Christian Filipinos, that an American woman today may ride unharmed from one end of the Mountain Province to another, thanks to the fact that she belongs to a nation represented by such men. (Applause.) Mr. Worcester in his endeavors, made no attempt to convert the heathen. That is not saying that the attempt was unmade; on the contrary, at this little town of Bontoc, there was a beautiful Episcopal church in building, of cut stone; there was a very substantial Roman Catholic church built of brick; the only difference was that the Roman Catholic church was finished and the Episcopal church was still potential, but what there was of it was of stone. The local chaplain, Father Clapp, had translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the local dialect, and as I was walking one day I met a little lassie and opened the little pamphlet and made signs to her to read, and she read it. We have made a good beginning in education; or had at that time. We have made an excellent beginning in sanitation; we have persuaded them that the ways of peace, in the long run, are the best. Those people are great dancers; all their ceremonies of war, love and harvesting, are accompanied

by dances. To get two tribes to dance together, or to get two people of adjoining pueblos to dance together, is the same thing as to invite a man to put his legs under our table and to feel that he is our guest and we must do him no harm. Some four years ago Mr. Worcester had collected tribes and villages that had before lived in the bitterest hostility and persuaded them to dance together in public and they went home men of peace. When he first went there, many villages saw their neighbors, people who should have been their friends, only over the tops of their shields. At that particular time, a man's influence was determined exactly by the radius of his spear, though today he goes to hospitals, to churches; his children go to school, learning the advantages of education, the advantages of trade, and it is a wonderful revolution wrought in that part of the Islands by the inspiration of one honest, clear-sighted man, helped by men of courage and of heart and of sympathy. (Applause.)

Many people were quite doubtful as to what would be the upshot of this movement in the north when, phrase it as we will, the administration in the Philippines passed from Republican to Democratic hands. The situation that had been created up to that time of course was one to which every Republican could point with pride and which no Democrat needed to view with alarm. The question was simply whether it would be kept up or not, not because the Democrats would not do it, but we could not tell whether the Filipinos would or not; in fact, the governor of a province near these friends of ours proposed, as the most economical way of solving the problem raised by their presence, that they should all be put to death, and he was the elected Christian governor of a province in the Islands. How he was to massacre 50,000 people, all of whose men are warriors of the first class, he did not say, apart from the moral side of it. But we were a little afraid as friends of those people—and it is impossible to journey in their country and receive their hospitality and look them straight in the face without becoming their friends. It is with the greatest pleasure, therefore, that it may be reported that the good work begun by Mr. Worcester has been continued, because the foundation was well laid, because no armed force was necessary to beat those people into subjection, because we used honesty, truth, justice and fair-dealing in all our relations with them.

The future of these people, and of the other non-christian population of the Archipelago, is of course intimately bound up with the destiny of the Islands. This perhaps savors of politics and I have no business to speak of politics. But Congress has recently passed an act of very great importance in respect of the future of the Islands. They have their own senate, upper and lower house, and as General Wood has pointed out, nearly all the officers and officials are now natives. If they make good, all the friends of the Philip-

pinos will wish them Godspeed and help them on their way, but we have got to stop and think and notice and be on our guard. Whether these steps so recently taken, look to independence or not, we cannot, as yet, tell. The act was signed on August 20th. The Filipinos will lose no time in displacing all the Americans possible from the positions of trust and emolument they occupy, and in filling them with Filiipinos equally good, no doubt; but does this look to independence. It is one of the hardest things to find out whether the Filipino really wants independence. I was going once from Lake Taal up to a little town called Tanauan, and as our transportation had broken down, the mayor was kind enough to take me with him in his carromata, and we began to talk. He said he liked the Americans very much indeed; at that time there was a considerable Japanese scare in the Islands, and he said, "We'd much rather have you than the Japanese." I said nothing, but he gave a reason; "You Americans have never molested our women and have not interfered with our religion; we are not sure that the Japanese would treat us equally well; but nevertheless, we want our independence." It is difficult to discuss this question of independence with a stranger out there. I therefore said nothing, and it was just as well I did. He went on and said; "By independence, I do not mean, of course, that we should be called upon to fight our battles or that if our treasury broke down, we should have to bear the brunt of it. Oh yes, if we have illness over here because cholera breaks out, we expect the United States to send out nurses, doctors, medicines and supplies. As long as everything goes well here, as long as we are not disturbed in any way, as long as neither the Japanese, the Germans nor the English interfere with our liberty and sovereignty, we should like to be independent." That was an elected officer. But I can summon a better witness, a great Philippine scholar, Pardo de Tavera, a scholar in the first sense of the word, I mean a scholar as we understand the word. He said to me one day, "You must have noticed that the Philippine legislature always terminates its sessions by a resolution demanding the immediate independence of the Archipelago. Well, you may be sure that everyone of those beggars goes home in fear and trembling lest it should be done." (Laughter.) When, during the last session of the present Congress, the bill granting the Filipinos their independence in not fewer than four nor more than six years came near passing, a cablegram, so I am informed, was sent to the President by one hundred and twenty-five sugar planters of the Visayan Islands, in protest against independence; they said if independence were granted, the first thing they would do would be to transfer their bank accounts to Hong Kong, because if they did not, the politicians would get them. Their next step would be to go themselves to Hong Kong, as they felt sure that the country would be unsafe for them. There

is a story, and it is a true story, too, that Pardo de Tavera, the author of that remark about the Philippine legislature, made a grand speech at a banquet one night in favor of independence. When he sat down next to the American friend whom he had invited as his guest, this American said to him, "Tavera, that is not the way you talk to me." To which he answered, "Oh! Keep still! I have to do that to save my face; my real sentiments you know." We do not believe, some of us who have been out there, that the Filipino really wants independence, and this partly because he does not know what it is. For example: There was a very fine scamp who operated in Tayabas Province, Rios by name, who had a beautiful box, to the locks of which he had the keys; on the outside was painted the word "Independencia." He organized a band, to his own profit; the objective of the band was to lift carabaos and later to do other things. If he wanted a particularly daring criminal deed done, he would say to his followers; "You have all heard of his Independencia, haven't you?" "Yes." "It is a very valuable thing; the supply is exceedingly limited; on account of my power and influence, I have some here in a box; all you have got to do now is to obey my orders, and I will give you some of this Independencia, but first I want you to kill so and so to night; you will find him in such and such a field." He carried his proceedings up to the point of causing people to be murdered by his band, and all by the promise of this Independencia that he kept so carefully locked up in this box.

It is very difficult to speak of independence in connection with a people who have no middle class, who are separated by almost impassable mountains, by straits and bodies of water, who speak different languages, how different you can see by knowing that one kind of Visayan is talked on one side of the island of Negros, and if you walk over to the other side, you will not be understood. I know of two little villages that both speak the same language and are only ten miles apart, but they cannot understand each other. Very few Filipinos speak Spanish. So there you are; what are you going to do about it? That is a problem for the American people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are very fortunate in the presence of three more gentlemen who are well qualified to bear further testimony, and all of them, let me remind you, are volunteers. First I am going to call on our friend DR. WILLIAM S. WASHBURN, always welcome here, formerly director of the Civil Service in the Philippines. (Applause.)

THE NEED OF A CONSISTENT PHILIPPINE POLICY

REMARKS BY WILLIAM S. WASHBURN, M.D.

We who have lived in this country some time and look back upon others who have been here before us, do not have to go very far before we think of some pioneer. Now, as a rule, we ought to have a great deal of respect and often veneration for the pioneers who made America. It was not easy work; it was a kind of life which developed the best in men; it made strong men, resourceful men, men who made the country what it is today. Now this venture into the Philippine Islands was a good deal like pioneering on the part of the present generation. I do not suppose anyone who has not been over there or anyone who goes over there now can imagine just what sort of a situation confronted the American Government, and Americans who went to the Islands. At first you know it was a military undertaking. After pacification of the people it became necessary at once to organize a different kind of government, that is, civil government. The military establishment of course could not be dispensed with at once, and so we find just what we have been told here tonight, the participation in this work of organizing government by the officers of the United States Army. We were half way around the world; competent men were needed in addition to the military officers in the service. As the fighting ceased, the enlisted man became available; instead of being sent home, he was discharged in the Islands. Now a considerable number of these men proved to have the kind of stuff in them that made successful, helpful men in this work of organization of civil government in the Islands; appointments were invariably made without reference to political affiliations. Many of them who did not have the right kind of fibre to succeed were early removed from the service or sent home. Early we began to send to the United States for men and women to help to do the pioneer work necessary in that new and strange land under those strange conditions, in a climate utterly different from our own, among a people who were hostile at first, a people speaking a foreign tongue, a people whose characteristics and habits and training were widely different from our own. So there were brought over there, men and women of high character until we had the nucleus of an organization. The purpose of the American people in going to the Islands, the object they had in view, the spirit that animated them in doing their work, has been referred to over and over again. The person who went there and succeeded really had to have the missionary spirit. I remember very well when one of the teachers came over and declined to go outside of Manila to teach. It was quite natural for everyone who came to the Islands in the early days to want to stay in the center of all things out there, Manila.

This person said, "I won't go into the Provinces I didn't come here for that purpose." Mr. Taft was the Governor-General at the time; after talking the matter over with him, he said, "Well, I don't think she has the missionary spirit, I guess we will have to send her home." Now that was one type of person; on the other hand, another type of man was the type of General Wood, who went over there as a soldier and was sent down into the Southern Islands among the Mohammedans. He stayed there about three years and, with the problems that faced him, worked just as diligently as the man with the smallest compensation or the lowest position in the Islands, and accomplished great things. That was the spirit that animated almost every American who went to those Islands; he developed into a strong man or a strong woman, served his country well and accomplished much more than one would think could be accomplished by the man when you saw him here at home. I am not going to review what has been accomplished in the Philippine Islands, in the development of public works of great magnitude and benefit, in the field of education, or in the work of sanitation, such as the segregation of the lepers into one place in the Islands, the practical elimination of smallpox by the vaccination of 7,000,000 people the preventive measures adopted against those communicable diseases prevalent on the adjacent shores of Asia which are dangerous and serious and which must at all cost be kept out of the Islands or else disaster is bound to come. Cholera and bubonic plague were practically eliminated. Now after all these years of accomplishment of a good many things of which we may all feel proud, are they to endure? That is the question. It is not well for one to rest in sweet repose that these things, having been well done at one time, are going to remain well done. The Islands are ever in danger of an invasion of bubonic plague, of Asiatic cholera. Lepers will be found in the Islands here and there. Will they be carried back to this one central point and segregated? If that is constantly and promptly done, the time will come when leprosy will certainly disappear in those Islands. Will they keep on with the vaccination of all the peoples in the Islands? Perhaps. Immunity is secured for a period of time more or less definite, but a condition of immunity can be secured only by repeated vaccination. Good roads may be built but they must be maintained. We know well enough here at home, that care in maintenance is essential to permanence. Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty but it is the price of being free from those things which will certainly return to plague the Islands unless competent men are on the ground ready to meet emergencies. That is the problem, it seems to me, if there is a Philippine problem, which now confronts the American Government. Responsibility, and authority must go hand in hand. Without authority, responsibility for good government over there, should not be accepted.

Responsibility for maintaining the peace, for keeping out any external foes, must certainly be accompanied by authority to do things. Does independence mean simply responsibility resting upon us with the absence of authority? Will the new Philippine idea prevail that we are to be shorn of authority while the responsibility for maintaining good government over there is to be placed upon the American people?

Reference has been made to leaving the Philippines by a great many of those tried men and women who did things so efficiently in the Islands. What has been done over there was not the work of any one person, it was really the team work of a large number of men and women of whom you may well feel proud. The civil service of the Islands has been very favorably and justly compared with the colonial services of Great Britain and Holland and France. We were sure that we had efficient men and women in the Philippines and that as long as they remained and were charged with duties and responsibilities, the work would be well done. Recently some of them, many of them, have been leaving the Islands. The question is how many of them can be withdrawn practically all at once, without endangering the maintenance of good government. What is going to happen? It is a matter of interest to this conference. I am credibly informed that during this present year there has been a loss of thousands of the water buffalo animals which are absolutely essential to carrying on the agricultural work of the Islands and without which the resources of the Islands cannot be developed; that thousands of these animals have died from rinderpest; that a million pesos, or half a million dollars in gold, has thus been lost. That is one reason why there must be kept there an organization of competent persons sufficient to keep out these diseases which are imported from China. It will not do to rest content when once a disease is brought under control, because it is sure to recur unless somebody there is everlastingly vigilant. It behooves those who are interested in the Islands to remember that if we withdraw too many of these competent Americans at one time, disaster may yet come and much of the constructive work of the American government may go for naught. The question of independence is not a matter which immediately concerns us or them; it is a matter of primary importance that good government in the Islands, efficient government, shall be maintained so that the work which has already been done shall be lasting and effective and the purposes for which the American Government first went there shall be accomplished in the end. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure that you will be glad to join me in welcoming the next speaker, MR. E. B. CONANT, Professor of Law in the University of the Philippines. (Applause.)

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS BY PROFESSOR E. B. CONANT

I do not come before you very voluntarily; after refusing twice previously to speak, I received about four o'clock this afternoon a little subpoena from the Committee pressing me into the service here tonight.

I have just returned from the Philippines; I have been out there four years and am on leave of absence for this academic year for some special work in the United States. We have heard tonight about the conditions of peace existing in the Islands. I take the cue from General Wood and will add a little bit to that. Mrs. Conant and I have travelled pretty widely over the Philippine Islands during the last three and a half years, through the wild men's country of the North of Luzon and the Moros' country of the Southern Islands. I remember one trip up into the Bontoc country. We spent the night at a government rest-house; there was a party of four of us, and in the building adjoining the stable, there were forty or fifty former head-hunters, kalingas and Bontocs (perhaps the names would not mean anything)—men from many different tribes which, before American occupation, were violently hostile to one another. At the government rest-houses tourists stop, American tourists, Filipino tourists and the people of the wild tribes, as they travel now through the Mountain Province. That conglomerate lot, all of them armed with spears and head axes and shields, were lying down in peace together, on the ground, with their horses in the stable, to spend the night. Our little party of four, unarmed, were sleeping in the rest-house and on the piazza, immediately adjoining the stable, and without the slightest fear. We were down in the Moro country last April, and on Saturday, the afternoon before Easter Sunday, we took a trip outside the city of Jolo, just before taking the steamer at eight o'clock that night. We hear very much even now in Manila about the absolute insecurity of travel outside of the walled city of Jolo. We went that afternoon, my wife and myself and two other men, over to an agricultural school outside the city of Jolo, a distance of fifteen kilometers, passing Moros of every kind and appearance on the way. They knew we were going out into the country, and if they had wanted to get us, they could have done so when we were on the way back. We came back about half way to the City of Jolo and then turned and went out to the palace of the Sultan of Sulu and called upon His Distinguished Majesty. We found him and his family at home. They received us very cordially and we started back to Jolo, an hour after dark, in a ramshackle old car that I thought would fall to pieces at every bump of a very poor road. We were told afterwards that it was a very foolish thing to do, but

we got back safely and unmolested, unspoken to by anyone, and we were of course at their mercy all the time, and I have simply this to say, so far as the conditions of peace and safety are concerned for travel in the Philippine Islands, I would ask no better pleasure trip anywhere in this world, to go through the finest scenery I have ever seen in America or Europe or the Far East, than to take my wife and two little ponies, from the northern end of Luzon up the Kagayan Valley and through the wildest parts of the head-hunters' country and the length of Luzon and through the Southern Islands, and the only condition I would make would be that we go absolutely unarmed, and more, that we would live off the country as we go along and would have no fear but what we could find plenty of food, sanitary food, and of drinking water that we could easily boil and put into condition to drink with perfect safety.

There is much to be said, and it is a story old to all of you, about the great work of the Americans in the Philippine Islands, in public works, in sanitation, in education; it would easily fill volumes. My work has been in education. The public school system of the Philippine Islands is simply a part of the wonderful work that has been done there since American occupation. Today there are over eight hundred new school buildings; there are over 600,000 school children in the public schools, and the number of schoolhouses is simply limited by the means with which to build them, and the number of children simply limited by the capacity of the schoolhouses. The waiting list is very large outside the doors. Now, we can judge a little bit of the work of a factory by its finished product. We in the University get the finished product from this school system. The University is a government university, run on the same basis as the average state university in the United States; its curriculum is about the same thing, the ordinary branches, higher mathematics and languages and metaphysics, history, etc., and the curriculum of the public schools is about the same as the curriculum of the public schools in the United States. Now what do we get in the University as a result of it? We have about fifteen hundred students in the University aside from the School of Fine Arts; there is a College of Liberal Arts, a College of Engineering, a College of Law, a College of Medicine and Surgery and an Agricultural College. It is a difficult problem to commence and educate a six year old boy up to manhood, who cannot speak a word of your language, cannot understand anything but the simplest things of life in his own language. The American school-teacher hasn't any such problem with the American schoolboy; he can speak English and has had some training at home. The piece of raw material that the American school-teacher commenced with in the Philippine Islands was a little naked native that could understand nothing when first spoken

to. We get that finished product in the University, of the average age of the American incoming freshman, fitted to go on with his work in college. He speaks his native dialect, he has a perfect command of English, and he has finished his arithmetic and algebra and his language, grammar and composition, and he writes well, in perfectly good English and a legible hand that is far above the average of the handwriting that we see in our American colleges. I have never known an instance in the United States of a college graduate that could speak any language but his own as a result of having acquired it in school or college. I took my year or two in French and German in college; it was required on the curriculum there, but I acquired no speaking knowledge of either one, and I was the average American college student. We find the occasional American college graduate, who speaks French or German, who has acquired it by travel or at home, but as a result of having studied French or German in college taking his two or three years of elementary and advanced French or of elementary and advanced German, the student who comes out able to go down into Paris or Berlin and converse with the French or German people—I never yet knew of a case of it. Now we have in the University any number, I think a majority of the students who come into the University of the Philippines as freshmen, that could speak no language but their native dialects until they commenced to go to school, but who have an absolutely fluent command of both English and Spanish that they have acquired as a result of their work in school. I have been asked what the church schools are doing compared with the work of the public schools carried on by the Government. Of course they have shown wonderful improvement. At the beginning of American occupation, their work from our standpoint was exceedingly elementary. I don't think any one would take issue with me in saying that they taught little else than the catechism and a few simple branches; but of course the American public school system there has furnished the incentive, the rivalry, and has forced the church schools to come up as far as possible to American standards. We have in the College of Law prizes given by certain American publishers for distinguished excellence in scholarship. The Lawyers' cooperative Publishing Company gives a set of books to the student who has written the best thesis, another publishing company gives a prize to the student that has attained the highest grade throughout his law school work. We require a college degree before entering the College of Law; we take the graduates of the University and the church colleges; we had a graduating class last year of thirty-five or six in the College of Law, and the year before, about the same number. From a University standpoint I hesitate to tell this, but I will admit the fact as it is all on record, the two men that took the two prizes in the last graduating class of our College of Law last

commencement day, were both of them graduates of the Jesuit College, the Ateneo de Manila, and I also must admit, though I am sorry to have to do so, that a year ago last commencement day, one of the two leaders of the graduating class, the finished product of the College of Law, that had sifted along through the University to its graduating year, was also a graduate of the Jesuit College in the City of Manila. The Church schools have come up tremendously.

I am going to take the rest of my time in drawing a little conclusion. From what I have learned and seen in the Philippine Islands, I am pretty emphatic for a centralized educational system. I would like to see it put into effect in this country. I am a native of New Hampshire, so let us use New Hampshire as an example, considering it just the average state with other American states and with the conditions about the same. You know what the rural schools are; you know what the country school committee is; you know the ill-qualified teachers and the inadequate salaries that are paid to the teachers in the rural schools, their lack of equipment and the conditions under which they work. That is all different in the Philippine Islands: there is a centralized Bureau of Education; the Bureau of Education sends out to the remotest rural districts of the Philippine Islands the same kind of teachers that they use right in the best schools in the City of Manila; they draw the same salary and are doing the same work, with the same quipment. The boy in the farthest, most remote point of the *bosque* is receiving the same benefits of education that the boy in the public schools of Manila is receiving. Why not? The suggestion then for New Hampshire is to abolish all the country school boards and abolish the appropriations of money by the towns for the support of the town schools; let the people pay their taxes; let the money for education go into the central state treasury, to be used by the central board of education, organized from the central power throughout the state. The central board at Concord would then send the teachers to the remotest ends of Coos County, with the same quipment, and the children in the public schools in the northern end of New Hampshire will get the same education and training that the children in the public schools in the City of Manchester get. Why shouldn't they? They pay for it. What is the per capita tax paid by the parents, the father of each child in the public schools of Manchester? What is the per capita tax paid by the parents of the child in the rural schools of Coos County? What does the money go for? Highways, police, fire-protection, public health, public schools, etc. What does the taxpayer in Manchester get, where the father's per capita tax is very much lower than the per capita tax paid by the father of the school boy in the rural districts of Coos County? The Manchester taxpayers get fire protection, highways, public

health, sanitation, good schools. The taxpayer of Coos County gets miserable roads, no fire-protection, he doesn't need any police protection, no sanitation. If his wife is ill, he sends her to a sanitarium and pays for it. And his children attend comparatively poorly equipped country schools, taught by under-paid, incompetent, rural teachers. Now that is our system of common schools in New Hampshire and other states. I know of no reason why the central bureau of education system, that has worked so well in the Philippine Islands, could not be transferred bodily to the average state of the Union and work with enormous success. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now want to call upon another of the young men who have been doing such good work in the Islands, MR. JOHN S. POTTER, until recently the chief clerk of the Bureau of Education in the Philippines. (Applause.)

REFERENCE TO THE SCHOOLS, THE BODY POLITIC, AND CERTAIN RECENT HAPPENINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS BY MR. JOHN S. POTTER

There are still two or three phases of the Philippine situation that should be touched upon. In referring to some facts connected with the Philippines, to certain recent happenings, and to the educational system, I want to bring out something with respect to literacy, which was mentioned this morning.

There are about 8,000,000 people in the Philippines. About 1,000,000 are non-Christians; 7,000,000 are Christians. They belong principally to the Malay race; there is a considerable admixture of Chinese and Spanish blood, and evidences of other nationalities. There are about 3,000 islands in the group. They stretch from north to south about 1,000 miles, and from east to west 600 miles. If they were supporting a population like that of Japan in proportion to its area, they would have thirty or forty million people. If they were as densely populated as Java, they might have eighty million people instead of eight.

Those people speak a number of distinct dialects and sub-dialects, running up to forty, fifty or sixty, according to the classification used; so that their general communication must be through the medium of some other tongue. Spanish was tried, but it was never intended that it should be the language of all the people or any great number; it was never spoken by more than ten per cent of the population who should be literate. At the present time English is far more widely spoken in the Philippines than Spanish, with the distinction that English is spoken by the young-

er generation, and Spanish by the older generation—and consequently to better advantage. English is spreading all over the Islands; you cannot go into any little hamlet or village without finding some boy that will be glad to come up and say "Good morning," and answer a few questions in colloquial English.

The trade of the Islands has trebled in the past few years and the United States has gotten its share of it. About half of the trade, export and import, is with the United States.

A great many people still have the impression that the Islands are costing the United States a lot of money. That is not the case at all. The Filipinos pay their own bills, through a well ordered system of taxation, and their government costs the United States nothing.

The Philippines have been under Spanish rule for something over three hundred years, and in that time they have taken everything which the Spanish had to give them. The Spaniards made of the Filipinos a race with Spanish ideals. They gave them their religion, their language in a measure, their institutions and customs. In these three hundred years the Philippines have come to be the place where the East and the West meet; historically and geographically that is true. In dealing with the Philippine situation, we should remember that we are dealing with Orientals who have in a measure been transformed by a European civilization. The Filipinos recognize this fact; they do not want to change it, and they could not change if they would.

With respect to the schools, there has been little change in the past year, since the time when Mr. Crone, the former director of education, was here and spoke to you. We still have about 4,500 schools scattered all over the Islands. Of the teaching force, about 11,000 are Filipinos and about 450 are Americans. Most Americans have the impression that about all of the teaching done in the Islands is by Americans, but that is not true. We started with nearly a thousand American teachers in the primary schools about fifteen years ago; that number has been reduced and a Filipino teaching force has been built up, until now practically all the teaching is done by Filipinos, supervised by Americans and with Americans teaching in the upper grades. Some 600,000 pupils are enrolled—about half of the school population. Still, when we figure that the make-up of the school attendance changes a great deal from year to year, we find that most of the children of school age come under the influence of the schools in one way or another in the course of their lives; most of the pupils are of course in the primary grades and will never get more than two or three or four years of schooling; so that our school system is built for them; it is essentially a primary education. The Filipinos are eager for higher education, cultural education; and we have not been able financially to provide adequate facilities for them.

Every year numbers of petitions are received in Manila for the opening of higher classes; the enrollment in the intermediate and higher grades has been increasing very rapidly in the past six or eight years.

The strong centralized administration of the Philippine schools has already been brought to your attention this evening. It is a three-phase system in which we emphasize academic instruction, industrial education and physical training. While we hold that one is as important as another, industrial instruction is probably the distinguishing feature of the system. During the past year or so we have seen the industrial work reach a stage where it has become necessary to open a commercial department in connection with our general office, and we are now handling the industrial products of the schools, embroidery, laces, hats, baskets, woodwork, etc., in a business way.

During the past year, the Philippine schools suffered a great loss by the resignation of Mr. Frank L. Crone, the Director of Education, who returned to the United States; the assistant director, Mr. C. H. Magee, also left the bureau. The second assistant director, Mr. W. W. Marguardt, was then made Director of Education, an appointment which was applauded by everybody. The place of assistant director was given to a Filipino, Mr. Jose Escaler, and he becomes the second man in the Islands in education. Mr. Escaler had a brilliant career as a law student in the United States and Europe, and was engaged in legal practice in the Philippines—in the government service. He had no special training or experience as an educator. The place of second assistant director went to Mr. Luther B. Bewley, a man who, like Mr. Marquardt, of long experience in Philippine school work, is eminently fit for such responsibility.

I want to mention the process of Filipinization, which is so much heard of in the Islands—the supplanting of the American employee by the Filipino. We have been following a methodical policy of Filipinization in the Bureau of Education ever since it was organized. That meant first of all the preparation of Filipinos as fast as it could be done to take the places of American teachers in the primary schools; to fill the vacancies caused by the return of American teachers to the homeland, and to make the services of the others available for higher work as it grew. That process continued until now all the work in the primary grades is done by Filipinos, and most of the intermediate grade teachers are Filipinos; American teachers are used in the higher classes and in supervisory and special work. We believe that if the schools are allowed to continue along the progressive lines of the past, the future of the Filipinos in education is assured.

I made a study of literacy in the Islands about two years ago, and have come to the conclusion that the literacy figure should now

be 37% or 38%. About fifteen years ago, when the only official census of the Islands under the American administration was taken the literacy figure was placed at about 20%, 10% in Spanish and 10% in native dialects. This was for all people ten years of age and over, and the literacy standard was very uncertain—probably very low. In some countries literacy means merely being able to sign the name; in others, reading and writing. In the Philippines, we wish to have literacy measured by the amount of knowledge a child gets by attendance in the public schools for one year; this will enable him to read and write his name, read signs on the streets, read and write simple matter, and protect himself as one can by knowing simply how to read and write. When we begin to figure on the capacity of a people for self-government, and take literacy as an index, that figure becomes important indeed.

We are talking about what the Filipinos want, and still there are very few of us who think of referring the question to these Filipinos whom we have been educating after our own manner. We have not consulted the American-educated Filipino, for the reason perhaps that he is too young. Take those who entered the schools fifteen years ago; even now, they are not out of their twenties. Most of the young men and women who have been in our schools are not yet in their twenties; some are arriving at twenty-one and twenty-two. But the Filipinos educated under the American system certainly have not reached the years when they can be called upon to say what they would or would not have, or can assert themselves in government affairs as do those educated under the Spanish regime. There is a growing feeling that we should wait for five, eight or ten years until these young Filipinos have had a chance to mature, to form judgments of their own, to have a voice in public affairs. Then, if we feel that we should consult the Filipino people as to their future, we may call upon a group whom we have educated after our own ideals, and certainly with greater assurance because of that fact. It is understood that Mr. Quezon, Filipino Resident Commissioner in Congress, when he went back to Manila a few months ago, went with the idea of consulting the younger Filipino element as to what should be the future of their government. Whether he is to form a new party and ask for territorial annexation to the United States, or statehood, or protection, we do not know.

Some of the speakers this evening mentioned some recent happenings in the Philippines; but they have not been discussed, and I fear they will not be. The Jones Bill was mentioned. That bill has recently passed, with the independence preamble eliminated, and another substituted which does not make such radical promises as that contended for so hotly in Congress. The bill gives the Filipinos an elective Senate; consequently they have now the two houses of the Legislature in their own hands. It places

a very powerful veto in the hands of the Governor-General, a veto over which a measure must have a two-thirds vote in order to become law.

THE CHAIRMAN: In both houses?

MR. POTTER: I cannot say whether it is in both houses or not; I think it is; it must have a two-thirds vote to become a law over the veto. Even then, it may be taken to the President of the United States, and, as I understand it, his veto is final. Such a measure places great power in the hands of the Governor-General. Of course it takes absolutely out of the hands of Americans possibilities for constructive legislation, but it gives a veto to offset legislation which may be undesirable. It places—and here is an important point—it places public instruction and public health in the hands of the Vice-Governor, who is appointed by the President of the United States. Those two items were considered so important that they were placed immediately under the control of the United States Government. The new Philippine bill extends the franchise to three or four times as many electors as there were in the Islands under the old bill. An elector had to be twenty-three years of age and had to have other qualification, property, knowledge of Spanish, knowledge of English, or position under the old Spanish government. Now literacy in the native language gives the right to vote, and the voting age is much reduced. The franchise is extended to a group of younger people, and brings the time nearer when the younger element in the Philippines will have a chance to assert itself at the polls.

The question is often asked, whether Americans are leaving the Islands dissatisfied with the situation. It is true that Americans are leaving the Islands, business men are going if they can dispose of their effects and get away. Government employees are leaving in great numbers. There is a reason. The past has been so uncertain in the Philippines that government employees have begun to feel that they would better leave the Islands right away. The Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Osmena, recently took the initiative in passing what is called the Retirement Bill, which is a peculiar measure. It made it possible for employees in the Government service for a period of six years or more to apply, before June 30 last, for retirement from the Philippine service under certain conditions, and with a pension approximating one year's salary. This pension is to be paid in monthly installments during a period of three years. That is a plain invitation to Americans to leave the Philippine service. It is a perfectly good measure and Americans are glad of it. The invitation was accepted by practically all Americans who had the right to it, and their requests for retirement were duly registered. Many of them have already been

accepted by the Governor-General, and a lot more will be accepted as time goes on. It is left absolutely to the Governor-General to accept the resignation of an employee by retirement or not, as he pleases. The administration will probably retain the services of certain experts whom the government must have. Vice-Governor Martin believes that it is up to Americans to get out. He believes that God's country is the place for good American citizens, and he is anxious to see them all apply for retirement and have an opportunity to get back home. He believes we should let the Islands go.

The question of the civil service and the arbitrary dismissal of Americans has been aired in the magazines a good deal during the past year. It is true that many left the service—some because they wanted to go, and some involuntarily, a great many in high positions. It is a fact that many changes were made by the New Era, inaugurated in October, 1913, by Governor-General Harrison. We think it is because these new officials have been following out the policy dictated by Washington. They are sincere. They are but carrying out a policy which means, "Let us get out of the Philippine Islands as fast as we can." That was what Congressman Jones had in mind when he prepared the Jones Bill which has finally passed, though with certain changes. His idea was hardly to bestow rights and benefits upon the Filipino people, but to get rid of the Philippines by all means; he considered them a menace to us. I wonder what Congressman Jones would think now if he knew, as probably he does, that the Filipino people have done honor to their benefactor, by changing the name of that wonderful old Bridge of Spain across the Pasig to Jones Bridge!—the Bridge of Spain, which has been standing there for centuries, a landmark to progress and to national sentiment!

What independence do the Filipinos want? That question was asked a little while ago. We do not know. We are inclined to believe that if they want any independence, it is an independence to manage their own affairs, but with a strong American guarantee against aggression from the outside. We don't know what the new party, if there is to be such, is going to want; but certainly there is a strong desire among people who count back in the Philippines, for a pretty firm sort of government with a guarantee like that which we think and hope the United States can give.

Independence suggests at once protective measures and expenses. This little story must be taken only as such, but it brings up vital points. A certain Filipino was asked what they would do if independence were granted, what would be the first matters to have attention. He replied that they would first build a powerful navy, maintain a strong army, and reduce taxes! (Laughter.)

But the policy we have advocated in the Bureau of Education of the Philippine Islands for a long number of years is: If we are

going to let the Filipinos themselves decide whether they would be independent or not, let us wait until we have had a chance to consult the younger element whom we have been educating in our schools; for they will have to shoulder the responsibility. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Several other gentlemen have kindly signified their willingness to address us on these themes, but the hour grows late, and with your permission, therefore, I will announce the adjournment of the Conference until tomorrow morning.

Fifth Session

Friday, October 20th, 1916, 9.45 A. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are permitted at the opening of our session today to welcome one whose wisdom has long guided the counsels of these conferences and whose optimism has fired our enthusiasm. It is a great privilege to be able to call upon DR. LYMAN ABBOTT. (Applause.)

THE ESSENCE AND VALUE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

REMARKS BY DR. LYMAN ABBOTT

We have been considering here what we have done and are doing and are to do for the Dependent Races. I would like to consider a little this morning what the Dependent Races have done, are doing and are to do for us.

Our fathers entered on a new experiment on this continent. All good government is government by the best over the worser. The attempt to get the best to govern the worser element in the community had been made in various ways; by a monarch, an oligarchy, an aristocracy, a self-constituted bureaucracy; our fathers proposed a new plan; to have the best in every man govern the worser in every man; in other words, self-government. For the last one hundred and twenty-five years, we have been making fairly rapid and certainly steady progress toward that ideal for ourselves and for others, and we have made it for ourselves by attempting to teach it to others. He is a poor minister who does not get more out of his preaching than he gives to his congregation; he is a poor teacher who does not get as much out of his pupils as he gives to his pupils; and we parents know that our children have been our best instructors. When our fathers landed on this continent they found it occupied by a small body of North American Indians. It cannot be said, though it sometimes is, that the North American Indians owned the Continent; no people own a land over which they simply roam and from which they harvest no adequate values for the world. The dog does not own the manger because he has first occupied it. This land which is now furnishing homes and adequate support to 100,000,000 people, then furnished support for, I suppose, not over half a million. It was inevitable that civilization should steadily press back the barbarians, unless the civilized peoples were able to open their doors and welcome the barbarians and the barbarians were ready to be welcomed. Neither were the barbarians ready to be wel-

comed nor were the whites ready to welcome them. Little by little the savage races were pressed back. When the Civil War ended, the Indians were, most of them, grouped together in what were called Reservations. The Government thought its duty fulfilled by building a wall around these reservations, keeping all civilized people out and keeping all barbarian Indians in. The Government itself did practically nothing for the Indian tribes. The churches did something, but to the churches these Indian tribes were a foreign people. In the Congregational Church, to which I belong, the missionary operations were carried on amongst these Indians not by a home board but by a foreign board. That these Indians were in any sense Americans, that the American people as a nation owed them any duty, was very little recognized. In the country there were a few wise, prophetic leaders, who recognized that obligation, but not many.

The Civil War taught us some lessons, three lessons specifically. Before that War the North looked upon the South as braggarts and the South looked upon the North as shopkeepers, and each said the other would not fight. It took four years of Civil War to make the North respect the South and to make the South respect the North. After the surrender of General Lee, the relations between the North and the South were more fraternal than they were before the attack on Fort Sumter. I am not an advocate of war; I love peace; but I can recognize the facts of history, that again and again in history, inestimable benefits have been brought out of the soil reddened with the blood of man. Not only did we learn a lesson of human brotherhood between the North and South, but we learned a lesson of brotherhood between white and black. The South was not merely conquered by the North; it was converted. Before the war ended, General Lee himself had advocated the arming of the slaves in the cause of the South, and it was truly said then by his opponents, that it is impossible to maintain slavery and at the same time put arms in the hands of the slaves and ask them to fight for their masters. So a lesson of brotherhood between black and white was taught by the Civil War. The duty of the Nation toward the black race was taught through a terrible tragedy. Not adequately learned: the wise statesmen of that time desired to see the Federal Government provide some means of education for the colored people that they might be able to fulfill the duties of citizenship in this great republic, but the lesson has not been sufficiently taught; not a majority of the people were ready, and that work of education was taken up and carried on by the Christian philanthropists of the country. Still, it was taken up and it was carried on. What the whites owe to the blacks, what the superior race owes to the dependent race, what the better educated race owes to the race in its childhood—this was taught us by the Civil War; we had hardly known it before. And

with this lesson was a third. Abraham Lincoln, who, the more I study his life, the more he seems to me to have been the most prophetic statesman America ever had, saw the need and laid that need upon the Congress, of immigration to this country, and as the result of his urging, the Homestead Law was passed, our lands were thrown open and we said to the world, "Any man who will come here and cultivate the land may have one hundred and sixty acres for the asking." They came in flocks and we opened the schools and the ballot box to them. We did not attempt to govern them except temporarily but asked them to help govern us. We extended to the foreign immigrants the same principle of self government which our fathers had adopted in the foundation of this American Republic. We attempted to prepare our immigrant people to govern themselves and to have a share in the government of the Nation. Thus there were three lessons of brotherhood we learned: North and South found themselves brothers; black and white began to find themselves brothers; native Americans and foreign immigrants began to see the race and religious line between them disappearing and themselves members of one great family upon this continent.

From that time, the Indian work took a new impetus, and I think a new significance. We who sent armies of teachers into the South to teach the black man, could not remain ignorant of our duties to the Red Man. It took time to learn the lesson. I remember going with a committee from this Lake Mohonk Conference to call upon President Cleveland after his inauguration for his first term, to lay before him the platform of this Conference, and he told us that he had thought that the best solution of the Indian problem was to put all the Indians on one great reservation and keep them there, but the Indians' friends sat down on him so hard that he had to give it up. I took a good deal of courage from that remark of his, because I thought if the Indians' friends had influence enough to change the mind of President Cleveland they had a good deal of influence.

We thus began to learn that the American people owe a duty to the Indian people, and owe it not as Christians, not as church members, not as missionaries, but owe it as a Nation; that these Indian people are really a part of our great national family, and that the Nation, as a Nation, owes them the obligation of frater-nalism. Dr. Wilson, before he was President, in one of his volumes, I think "Congressional Government," said something like this: "We talk of giving self-government to a people; but self-government never can be given to a people; all that we can do is to educate a people so that they shall be prepared for self-government." This is emphatically true. Self-government must spring from within, it cannot be bestowed from without; it is not a garment to be put on, it is a life to be imparted. What we have been un-

consciously attempting to do through these years has been to impart self-government to the immigrant, to the negro, to the Indian.

Then came the Spanish-American War, and Porto Rico and the Philippines fell under our hands, and we acted on this same fundamental principle. We did not attempt merely to govern Porto Rico; we did not attempt merely to govern the Philippines. We attempted to govern them for the purpose of creating in them a power of self-government. We hear paternal government sometimes derided and despotic government sometimes, in derision, called paternal government. The only good government on the face of the globe is paternal government. What is a paternal government? What do you and I, as parents, desire to do for our children in governing them? We govern them in order to prepare them for self-government. We know that in a few years at best they will go out from our homes, from our control, from our influence, and we wish to impart to them such measure of intelligence, such moral standards and such strength of will that they will be able to govern themselves. The Russian government is not a paternal government; it is an un-paternal government; it is an anti-paternal government; it is not governing the people in order to promote in them the power and capacity of self-government. This is the lesson which the dependent races have been teaching us, that in every man there is a potentiality of self-government, in every man there is an undeveloped power to govern himself.

We may be said to have been learning during the last century two lessons. First, the essential unity of the human race. We have been learning that, under all differences of color, of climate, of heredity, of education, of moral character, there are certain great, fundamental qualities that make men brothers; that in all religions, in all nationalities, in all races, faith and hope and love are variously manifested. In the early part of the nineteenth century, I think about 1820, Dr. Lyman Beecher preached the first sermon before the American Board, in which he included, among the enemies of the Lord that were to be destroyed, all pagan religions. Ten years ago, Charles Cuthbert Hall, President of Union Theological Seminary, of the Presbyterian Church, went, on a mission, to India and his message was this: "You have been seeking for God; we have been seeking for God; I have come to tell you what we have found and ask you what you have found." That is the difference which one hundred years have made in the feeling and thought of the Christian Church. I heard a few years ago an address from Dr. Brown, the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions in which he laid down the general principle, that what we ought to carry into foreign lands is not our creeds or our rituals or our denominational distinctions; what we

ought to carry is the Spirit of Christ and let each race work out that Spirit according to its own temper and by its own methods. To illustrate this principle he said, "I met in India a few years ago a Hindoo who knew just enough of our language to tell me in broken English, 'I am a Scotch Presbyterian.'" Thus the church as well as the state, has been learning this great fundamental truth,—the brotherhood of man.

But it has been learning more, it has been learning this other truth, that man, because he is a child of God, has in him the possibility of self-control, and in that self-control is the possibility of universal liberty. Only a few prophets knew that in 1784, and in the main they thought it true only of the Anglo-Saxon race, or, some of them, of the French also. The truth that men of all races and of all faiths, possess of this undeveloped power of self-control we have been learning, and it is the dependent people who have been teaching it to us. The President of the United States has told us that the causes of the war in Europe are obscure and that the war itself does not concern us. I cannot agree with him. I think the war in Europe is the conflict between these two fundamental conceptions, of government: Shall a few wise men govern the many ignorant and incompetent, or shall all government be carried on for the purpose of making the ignorant and the incompetent wise enough and strong enough and moral enough to govern themselves and have a share in the government of their fellow-men? Our conception of self-government was shared with us in 1784 by France. It has been extended. Today France, England, Italy and America agree in this fundamental religious and political conception of humanity.

Just before I came up here I received a book in translation by a German professor, written in Germany for the German people, translated and published in this country by a German publishing house. I think I have a right, therefore, to take Professor Meyer's definition of the spirit and object of Germany as in some sense trustworthy, and in that book he compares the German conception of government with the English and American conception of government, and he says—if I had known I was going to speak this morning, I would have copied it out and read it to you, but I can give it I think, with almost verbal accuracy—"In the German conception, the power of the monarch is unlimited and therefore he owes no responsibility to man, only to God." For at least one hundred and twenty-five years, these two conceptions of government—more than that, these two conceptions of man—have been struggling with one another. Is man to be governed or is he to acquire the power of self-government? Is the power to be imposed on him from without or is it to be developed within? And the whole object of our Indian service and of our work among the dependent peoples should be not to govern them, but to do

what two of our speakers last night showed we are doing so well in the Philippines, those things that are necessary to enable them—black, white, red and yellow,—to govern themselves and take their share in the world's government.

There is danger that we shall become self-conceited and patronizing in our conception of what we can do for other peoples. It is worth while occasionally to turn about and see what other peoples are doing for us. On this continent we can learn patience from the Chinaman, courtesy from the Japanese, economy from the French—and we certainly need to learn it—love of art from the Italian, steadfastness from the English, good humor and a cheerful heart from the Negro, and from the Indian, "Be swift to hear and slow to speak." I do not know any American who realizes quite as well as the North American Indian does, that we have two eyes to see with, two ears to hear with and only one tongue to talk with. (Laughter and applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure now of calling upon MR. J. W. BEARDSLEY, who has been the Director of Public Works in the Philippines, and is now the Chief Engineer of the Irrigation Service in Porto Rico. (Applause.)

A FEW GENERAL CONDITIONS IN PORTO RICO

REMARKS BY MR. J. W. BEARDSLEY

Your Porto Rican program last year was exceptionally strong. It is regrettable that speakers of equal skill are not available this year. The Island needs the fullest publicity of her resources and of her right.

There are two terms which, to me, are more or less objectionable; however I cannot now offer substitutes, and so shall use them wherever it seems convenient. I refer to the term "American," by which we mean a citizen of the United States of America, regardless of the large number of other Americans who are equally entitled to its use; also to the term "Dependent," which I believe is obnoxious to the so-called dependent person himself. He rightly feels that he has a civilization, that he has traditions, that he has customs which are equal to some of the traditions and customs that characterize the implied superior people.

The fair island of Porto Rico is located, one hour of time east of New York and five days' journey to the south. The longitude is 66 degrees east and its latitude 18 degrees north, lying entirely within the tropics. It is the most eastern of the Greater Antilles, and has the oldest so-called civilization of the Western Hemisphere. But slight trace of the aborigines can be found among the inhabitants today. Negroes were imported to meet labor conditions until the abolishment of slavery in 1873 which was accomplished

without the necessity of a civil war or any other serious disturbance. The Island represents the product of Spanish civilization more completely perhaps than any other Spanish colony. Some seventy-nine per cent of the population are rural, which of seventy per cent are illiterate notwithstanding the large educational effort made since American occupation, eighteen years ago. The Governor's report of 1915 states that of the 331,000 rural children of school age, 109,534 were enrolled at some time during the school year. The total population of nearly one and one-quarter million covering an area of slightly more than 3,600 square miles gives the very dense population of about three hundred and forty per square mile.

The wealth of Porto Rico today is in its agriculture. The foremost crop is sugar cane; second, and usually of approximately one-half the value of sugar, is tobacco; third, is coffee; and fruit, which is rapidly increasing is of equal rank with coffee. The climate is entirely tropical; the rainfall averages about seventy-seven inches per annum. The winter months are exceptionally delightful. The Island is located within the northerly limit of destructive storms, and the dreaded cyclonic hurricanes seldom inflict heavy damage. Porto Rico differs radically from the Philippine Islands in that first, it has one universal language, second, the Island is regarded as unquestionably a permanent part of the United States. While the dense population makes the Island a favorable location for manufacturers, and an inviting field for industry, requiring many semi-skilled and unskilled laborers, such establishments are almost entirely lacking today, with the exception of the tobacco industry. It is evident that while future industries may occupy a prominent position, agriculture will always remain the principal source of wealth, and its development should be fostered to the fullest extent possible.

The writer has been frequently asked to describe a Porto Rican. He is a man, subject to the same inspirations, desires and temptations as the citizens of our great metropolis. The newspaper records the same types of evil that are found in our own great dailies, except that without doubt the capacity of the citizens of this great country in performing deeds of crime exceeds the capacity of the Porto Rican in similar deeds. In any case, the future of the Island must be determined by the acts of the inhabitants and no great progress, no large developments can be realized without the fullest cooperation of the inhabitants. In the irrigation work, a peon asked for an increase in wages, stating, "My father is an old man and I must help sustain him"—a marriage, an additional child in the family, is ample reason for increasing the wages of the Porto Rican. It happened that at the same time the father, who was employed some forty miles distant, on the same work, came to the enginner in charge and said, "I am about to take unto me a

young wife; I want an increase in salary." (Laughter.) I tell this story to show that the desire for an increase in wages is common to the Porto Rican as well as to the young American. (Laughter.)

Thrift, education, independence, morals, all of the high attributes of civilization are not immediately attained by legislation. Such qualities cannot be put on at will like a garment. They must come from within; they must represent the average character of the masses and are acquired by a people only through a great price of long continued effort extending over many generations. The traveler of a few days' sojourn in a strange land sees the striking and peculiar traits and even the trained observer cannot readily see the substantial and enduring qualities of a foreign people. To measure these latter traits, one must live the life, absorb the customs and acquire a true perspective of values. The longer the American labors in foreign fields, the more conservative he becomes, and the larger possibilities can he see in the better racial or national traits of the other race or civilization. Doubtless if any of us were of immediate Spanish descent, we would be as proud, even prouder, of the great deeds of Spain two or three centuries ago, the extent of lands in which the mother tongue had been effectually planted, than the American of today, in the wonderful power and progress of the United States. The capacity of a people is greatly influenced by centuries or climate. The rigor of a northern winter makes thrift a habit, a trait lacking in a tropical land, where fuel for heating is unnecessary and where old Nature is lavish with her varieties and quantities of food. My personal experience in handling numerous gangs of laborers and in watching the tendencies of American assistants leads me to the conclusion that, first, a balanced ration is essential to a fair labor output by unskilled peons; second, the imported skilled labor, the American, will not deteriorate if he has established a high character in his home land; and third, the duty of an American in our insular possessions is more than efficiency in his special work, exceptional good health and endurance; it is essentially the ability to present to the other perhaps less fortunate race a high type of citizenship. No one instrument as morals, education, sanitation or material advancement in improvements and public works will accomplish the desired result. All of these instruments must actively cooperate, with due consideration to the time acquired to modify racial characteristics. Porto Rico needs the progressive work of her own people. It is not enough that a few of her sons are trained in our universities and in our form of government. The great mass of her people is the special concern of our nation and their needs should be more persistently, more continuously set forth by her own educated men to the inhabitants of the Island as well as to the people of this land. It is doubtless true that our legislatures

have neglected to perform their clear duty to the people of Porto Rico to such a degree that her native sons are discouraged. I believe that a great wrong has been done in depriving the Porto Rican of a flag and of a country and in delaying so long the rights of citizenship. This question was ably presented to the conference last year. The outlook was then very favorable for prompt action by our Congress, but no law was enacted. It would be preferable to make some progress even if not the best, than to stand still. I plead for a paragraph in the platform of this conference favoring the prompt admission of the Porto Rican into the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States and the establishing of a simple democratic form of government capable of local administration to the fullest practicable extent. I think it useless to add any explanation to the condition of citizenship in Porto Rico. He lost his rights to the Spanish citizenship and the present government is called the Government of the People of Porto Rico. He is simply one of the people of Porto Rico. We have no consular agent in Porto Rico; a Porto Rican cannot acquire American citizenship unless he comes to this country and as he has no flag, I do not know how he could get a passport for travel in Europe or acquire recognition of any kind as a citizen of the world. I should add also that since the Island is only about one hundred miles long and an average of about thirty-five to thirty-eight wide, a small territory, the needs of the country do not require an extensive or expensive machinery of government. The average American citizen is too apt to depreciate all of the characteristics of older European civilizations. In conclusion I would further plead for a diligent study of such characteristics and a sympathetic consideration and appreciation by Americans of the opinions, ideals and environment of these dependent people, before demanding too radical and sweeping changes and before imposing local laws upon them which while they may conform to our highest ideals will immediately produce radical changes in local customs and traditions. (Applause.)

DR. ABBOTT: May I ask the gentleman one question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DR. ABBOTT: I wish he would tell us what he thinks of the relative advantages of a general law making all Porto Ricans citizens, and a law proposed by Ex-Governor Post, by which any Porto Rican who desired to become a citizen could, without expense and difficulty, obtain naturalization?

MR. BEARDSLEY: My work and studies in Porto Rico have been along such different lines that I hardly feel qualified to compare the laws referred to by Dr. Abbott. The population of the

Island is dense. The percentage of illiterates is high. The greater portion of the peons or laborers is scarcely out of the power of the Caciques. It has been declared by the highest authority that our flag shall remain forever over the Island. As completely as the Porto Rican was deprived of Spanish citizenship, so completely should our citizenship be bestowed upon him by a general law including all except those who declare their allegiance to another country. The suffrage should of course be restricted. The Porto Rican is naturally just as good a politician as any member of Tammany. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is HON. HENRY W. DOOLEY, a prominent Porto Rican business man, of San Juan. (Applause.)

SOME THOUGHTS ON PORTO RICO

REMARKS BY HON. HENRY W. DOOLEY

I cannot help but appreciate the privilege and the honor of being called upon but I had not the slightest idea that I was going to say anything except to make perhaps one or two comments on some remarks that had been made. I have not therefore co-ordinated my thoughts in any way that one really ought to do to appear before a conference of this character. I may say that I have never heard any remarks on the subject of Porto Rico which seemed to me to embrace so thoroughly the fundamental facts and the verities regarding Porto Rico, as those of Mr. Beardsley. I feel that when the conference, some twelve years ago, added the subject of Porto Rico to its program, that it was something which every friend of Porto Rico and every enlightened Porto Rican thought was a wise and fine thing to do and so I believe it to have been. Yet, with all the good that it brought us—I say “us” for I mean the Porto Rican people and the Americans who have made Porto Rico their home—it brought also with it an unfortunate situation. The people of Porto Rico have almost universally been classed with the people of the Philippines, and, as Mr. Beardsley said, the proposition is quite different; the people are different and the situation requires an entirely different handling. Since the American occupation in Porto Rico, the American people have done much for the Island of Porto Rico and its people, for the spirit of the American people in its relations not only to the Island of Cuba, but to the Philippines and Porto Rico, exemplifies a magnificent national trait. That national feeling and desire to do something for those “dependent” people, as they are called, is worthy of all praise and should make every American proud to realize that such is the spirit of the American people. But unfortunately that spirit of the nation has not always been exerted and exemplified by our representatives—both official and others—who have gone there

for business, for pleasure or for governmental purposes; for what we have accomplished there has been brought about chiefly by the throwing off of the shackles by which those people were bound and giving to them a chance to develop in trade and in other ways.

Mr. Beardsley called your attention to the fact that the "dependent" people did not exactly like this title. There is not any question about that. There is nothing that so riles the soul of the Porto Rican people, and especially those who are educated and intelligent—and many of them, my friends, are as intelligent as any of the people in this room, and they have a longer civilization back of them than many of us have—as to be thought an inferior people, an inferior race; and not only to be so thought of, but to be shown it time and time again incidentally in the intercourse of life. A gentleman was appointed to a very important post in Porto Rico, some few years ago, and Mrs. Dooley and myself paid our respects to him, and some few evenings later they returned the call at our home. This lady, in speaking, said, "Mrs. Dooley, how would you recommend that we get along with the Porto Rican people nicely, that we make friends with them? What would you advise us to do?" "Well," the answer came very quickly, and I thought very logically and rightly, "Why, to treat them the same as you would any other ladies or gentlemen." Now that only exemplified an attitude of mind which so many of our Americans have who go to that Island. Another incident of a similar kind occurred when a gentleman said, "Well, I have not come down here to do anything except to help the Porto Rican people." "Well," I said, "I do not see any reason why you should not think it an honor and a privilege to earn \$5,000 paid by the people of Porto Rico, provided you do your work honorably and satisfactorily; I do not see why you should class it as missionary work, and I do not think that the Porto Rican people will appreciate your stating the situation to them in that way." But time and time again there is that patronizing attitude of the American civilian and the American office holder which so rightly riles our friends in Porto Rico.

I think the faults and weaknesses, whatever they may be in the American administration at Porto Rico, come more from the American side and less from the Porto Rican side. In the first place, at the very beginning it was undoubtedly necessary to go to the different parts of the United States and select the wisest and ablest individuals to fill certain given positions, but it would seem that after eighteen years of American administration, if the administration has been at all successful, that they must have educated, stimulated and enthused some individuals in that community, either natives or Americans to have reached that point where they, in turn, could properly and even more wisely fill the positions than men from different parts of the United States who are occasionally sent there, some who apparently never heard of the Island of

Porto Rico until they received their appointment or made application for it. (Applause.). What would this great State of New York do—would it go to Ohio to select its Secretary of State or its administrators? Would it go to France and bring a Frenchman here who did not know English, who could not think in the English tongue? No. Why should we, then, on the other hand, select men who have not the slightest knowledge of Spanish history or Spanish traits or of the Spanish tongue, as officials in Porto Rico? In 1898 I remember talking to General Henry, who was at that time in Porto Rico, and he said, "Mr. Dooley, no man will understand these people who does not have some knowledge of the Spanish language"; and the longer I live in Porto Rico, and I have been there eighteen years, the more I find General Henry had sized up the situation correctly in a short time. Another thing in the years of American occupation, we have had three military governors and six civilian governors—nine governors in a period of eighteen years. How can one expect a governor, no matter where he comes from, to accomplish anything on that basis? It takes a governor at least two years to get in real touch with the situation in Porto Rico, and he has got to do considerable work to do that. We are, however, approaching, in fact have approached, a better attitude, a better policy, it seems to me, in recent years in this matter, and we are promoting men who went there in the early days of the service and who have shown themselves qualified to handle the proposition.

I also want to drive home to you once more what has been so ably presented upon this floor in past conferences and to which Mr. Beardsley also referred—the question of citizenship for the Porto Rican people. I think Mr. Beardsley was in error when he said the Porto Rican could not be naturalized except by coming to the United States. If I understand correctly, he cannot be naturalized even if he comes to the United States, because he has no sovereignty to renounce, and he is the only man among the nations of the world who cannot be a citizen of the United States and yet the American flag flies there in Porto Rico over him; what a paradox? The trouble is that every time they bring up the citizenship question in Congress, they tack on to that bill every other conceivable and possibly debatable subject that there is, and of course it is very hard to get the citizenship bill put through when you add on every other actively debatable question, like prohibition and woman suffrage. They may all be important in their own way, but we cannot have everything at the same time.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the condition of that bill now Mr. Dooley? Has it passed one house?

MR. DOOLEY: It passed one house and went to the Senate and was reported with certain amendments out of committee, but it

was not put on the official program of the administration, and although Senator Shafroth was advised that they would endeavor to get the bill through at some opportunity, or would give him an opportunity to bring up the bill before the adjourning hours of the Senate, no such opportunity ever occurred, and we now hope that the bill will be passed at the next session of Congress, which seems likely.

There is just one other point that I want to drive home. It is the status of the American who goes to Porto Rico. Every American who goes there is marked man. He sometimes forgets that. He forgets that those people have lived there for hundreds of years, intermarried, are inter-related, know everything that goes on. If a stranger comes in town they know all about him, know what he does—Americans forget about that and they forget also that every American represents the United States and the American people, and he must be very much more careful in that community about what he does than if he were within the bounds of the United States itself. At home we would discriminate that such a one is a different kind of American from the other; they do not discriminate, to them he is an American and we all get the benefit (?) of it. Now, whenever Americans are appointed to office or go there in subordinate positions they should be men of character. Character is a very hard thing to define, but most of us recognize it when we see it and we always know the absence of it even when we do not know the positive facts. It is intensely important; we cannot generalize. We have, on the whole, had mighty few scandals in American governmental life, but we have had some unfortunate experiences that make a very bad impression. One American was appointed to a prominent position there, and the day he arrived he was taken to the hospital suffering from delirium tremens. That does not make a pleasant impression and does not make an American living there feel very proud of his own people. I realize that accidents will happen, but we have had more "accidents" than we ought to have. The trouble is this; if I were asked to select somebody to go to China, I would be up against quite a proposition because I am not posted on the situation. But that is what we are asking the President of the United States or the Secretary of War to do all the time, and on insufficient knowledge or only on general knowledge, as most of you people who are specialists in one line or another realize, does not always answer for special knowledge. I thank you for your attention. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We now turn our attention for a few moments again to Philippine matters. MR. SAMUEL E. HILLES, of Cincinnati, will give us some testimony in regard to his observations in the Islands. (Applause.)

THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS BY MR. SAMUEL E. HILLES

My position has been a little different from that of some of the others who have spoken. I have had no official connection with the Philippines, which I had the good fortune, however, to visit two and a half years ago.

I went out in an independent capacity, but from my connections had some unusual opportunities for obtaining information. I certainly do not wish to appear on this platform or any other with any destructive criticism, but rather to recognize the wonderful things that have been done in the past, many of which are still going on. However, I take the opportunity to deprecate some of the destructive influences which have lately been at work in the Philippine Islands. I am ready, with many others, to grant the Filipinos self-government when they are prepared for it, but it seems to me, from things that have occurred and are occurring, that they are still in the class of children in political knowledge, and that there has been thrust upon them, unwillingly in some cases, greater responsibility than they are fitted to bear.

One who visits the old city of Amsterdam may see upon the top of the palace there, little frequented by the Queen, but very evident to the people of the city, the figure of Atlas bearing the world upon his shoulders. He is there sculptured as a stalwart man with hardened muscles and trained capacity, and so the figure comes to my mind that in thrusting upon the Filipinos—some of them eager for it, some afraid of it, as we were told last night by Colonel Willcox,—these new responsibilities, we have been moving too fast, that we need greater caution, need to abide the results of the training of these children in the schools and the university and its agricultural department in the Islands, all of which are going along very favorably; but that we should be content, in a political way, to await the results of the training, until these children who shall have come up through the schools shall more thoroughly imbibe the American ideals, or such of them as are applicable to their case.

But there are many helpful things going on there, perhaps the most encouraging being the work of the schools. From the figures given us last night and those given a year ago, that work is going on with, it seems to me, great hope for the future, because the children of the Islands are usually ready pupils, ambitious, and easily learn our language; and to listen to those little children, as I have in a number of the schools there, in some cases imitating the strange accents of the native teachers, was exceedingly interesting, as it was to see in Manila so many different types of faces, a mixture of the Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay.

In the work of the Bureau of Science, while some economies were

necessary, I think that comparatively very few of our politicians at Washington realize the tremendous value of the work there inaugurated, beginning with the date of the American occupation, or of the creation of the Bureau. While it is true that some of the studies of ethnology and kindred subjects might be considered by many practical people of little value to the people themselves there, it was and is the opportunity for such studies, which may be and were, being used for the advantage of the world, and frequently in unexpected ways for their own.

I am looking upon it as a larger job than the exploiting of the Philippines or the advantage to us, or the immediate, today's, advantage to the Filipinos themselves. With the practical dismissal of many of the faithful employees who put into their work a rare devotion, a rare self-sacrifice, who represented in its efficiency, its very best, most ennobling features, the best of our American ideals, there is danger of our prostrating the whole work of the building up of the people of the Islands; and so I feel the need of extreme caution for the future and of pleading with our people at Washington for some continuity of purpose which will not exercise upon the destinies of the people for whom we are responsible, a paralyzing influence such as we might find there today in many quarters. I was in the House of Representatives at Washington last May, at the time the vote was taken upon the Jones Bill, and I saw upon what a narrow margin the destinies of those people seemed to hang,—the efforts, first, of committing us to their possible independence in not less than two years and not more than four then the two and six, then the two and eight, each time defeated by a narrow majority. It certainly was a momentous time, the 1st of last May, on which the vote, was taken, when the destinies of our wards were thus deliberated upon, and I felt like congratulating those who were faithful to what they conceived their duty, the twenty-eight faithful men who had the nerve and courage to get up and pass in the division with the members on the other side of the house, declaring their belief in some better way of handling the Filipino people. (Applause.)

There is much to attract one out there. You see a wonderful work going on still, in the roads, in the schools, in the hospitals and the sanitary work, but all are in danger when made to rest upon the caprice of a political party. When such questions of momentous influence, not only upon them but upon us, their guardians, are left to such elements, and when appointments are made, not from a sense of fitness, but as rewards for political service,—oh, I wish I could impress upon you the satisfaction that would come to us as a people for a job well done, if we could continue to send out there, the fittest of our people, filled with the best of ideals for American life. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY MR. NORBERT LYONS

May I say a few words? A great deal has been said in this conference by nearly all the speakers in regard to certain work in the Philippines which is supposed to have deteriorated in recent years. Now I am not a member of the government over there; I have been out of the government service about six years; I am engaged in newspaper work and our paper is non-partisan. Before entering into the journalistic field, I spent two years in the Islands in the service of the government as a surveyor. My work carried me from one end of the archipelago to the other, and I think I have a pretty fair knowledge of the people and their capabilities.

Now the policy which would criticize the work of the present administration over there is based on the very theories of colonial government which I attempted to criticize last night in my paper on Race Contact; it is based essentially on the theory that the white race is absolutely superior to the brown race and that these people will, in some distant time perhaps, but probably not for several centuries, be qualified for self-government. I want to contradict that with a pertinent allusion to the present situation over there. In my opinion the matter of fitness for self-government on the part of the Filipino people is not a debatable one. I think they have demonstrated, by what they have accomplished already in the way of self-government, that they are fit for it in a practical sense. The Filipinos have administered all their municipal offices; they have had not only theoretical but practical autonomy in all their provincial governments. All the provincial governors are Filipinos; all the provincial boards are Filipino; the municipal boards are Filipino; all are elected by the people; and I have not, as yet, heard any severe adverse criticism of the way these governments have been administered.

Furthermore, the Philippine legislature has come in for some criticism this morning on the ground on which it is usually criticised; namely, that its legislation is of a character which you might characterize as foolish or bootless. This is a criticism which has been applied to practically every legislature of any nation. I have heard it applied to the National Legislature of the United States and to practically every state legislature over here; but I will dare to make this statement: that if you take the number of "fool" laws that are introduced in the National Legislature over here and compare their number with the total number of laws introduced, and then apply the same process to the Philippine Legislature, I do not think that the comparison will hurt the Philippine Legislature any. The trouble over there has been that a good many Americans have applied our ideals to judging the Filipinos instead of making comparisons from practical standpoints; that is, comparing what has actually been done over here or anywhere

else with what is being done over there. In other words, we make the Filipinos live up to higher standards than we do ourselves.

Now as to the officials who have been so "ruthlessly" torn away from their life labors in the Philippines and left the Islands in a bleeding state. The Bureau of Science was established almost with the establishment of civil government over there and has done a very fine work. It has gone into almost every branch of scientific endeavor and its men have made some very remarkable discoveries and contributed very valuably to science in general; but it had one fault, it was a little bit too elaborate, a little bit too good for the country; it did too much.

The Philippine Government, as other speakers have told you, is self-supporting. All the money that is used to support the different Bureaus and Departments, except the United States Military establishment, comes from the people direct, and as the people are not very rich and the rate of taxation is pretty low, the total sum available for such purposes is not very large, and economy must be practiced. Now when this administration came into power, it found, among other things, that the proportion of funds used for scientific investigation of an absolutely academic character, was out of all proportions to the total available; that is, too much money was used in these purely scientific activities which could have been applied to practical uses with good practical results. The Bureau of Science maintained a large force of experts in etymology, botany, mineralogy, etc., from an entirely academic standpoint, which was all very fine for the field of science but did not do the Filipinos much practical good. What the administration did was this: it culled out some of these experts, reduced the force, and reduced the appropriation for the Bureau of Science, with the result that the Bureau is doing all the necessary investigatory work and is cutting out all the frills. Dr. Cox, the efficient Director of the Bureau, still remains.

Dr. Heiser, contrary to the general impression here, was not forced out of the government service. He resigned voluntarily, being offered a much better position with the Rockefeller Foundation. I think he will testify to that himself. I do not think he ever claimed that he was forced out.

Now it has been said here that the policy of the present administration would result in the "discontinuance of the continuity of purpose" which was desirable in a situation of this kind. Well, just the reverse is true. When President McKinley laid down the policy for the Philippine Islands, he said that it was to be a policy in which the Filipinos were to have an increasing share of the government; it was to be a government ultimately by the Filipinos and for the Filipinos; and in the degree to which they showed their capacity to take part in that government, they would be given offices and further privileges; and that is just what is being done.

There is no change of policy; it is simply a matter of point of view. The present administration believes that the Filipinos are capable to a greater degree of running their government than did the previous administration; they are simply giving them more positions, more opportunities, and thus simply carrying on the policy originally laid down for the Islands.

Another thing which comes to my mind just now is the point raised by Mr. Dooley when he spoke about the patronizing air assumed by Americans toward Porto Ricans. The same attitude is quite apparent in the Philippines and works very detrimentally in relation to harmonious race contact. There is quite a large European resident population in Manila. The average American, when he comes over there, comes in contact with it to quite a large extent and the European notions of the superiority of races are implanted in many of us who come over there for the first time very soon after our arrival. As a result, many of us treat the Filipino with a very patronizing air, and the Filipino resents it. He can read human nature very quickly and he senses any such attitude, any such state of mind, and reacts toward it in the same way. Moreover, the feeling has been complicated by the after-effects of the insurrection. The natural animosities that arose out of warfare have left their impress and still have their effect; but they could easily die down if it were not for the fact that this European attitude of mind, which has been perpetuated from year to year, still persists and keeps the racial gulf practically as wide as it ever was.

Another thing which has operated to keep the relations between the two peoples strained is the fact that not enough care has been exercised in the selection of officials in the Philippine service. Now that does not apply to any particular administration; it has been the fault of every administration from the first to this day. It is rather a fault of our political system, but still it is there, and one striking instance of it is the fact that a good many Southerners, men of southern bringing up, are sent over there. Now I do not want to reflect upon the Southerner. He is as good a man as anybody else, as good an American, but it cannot be denied that he has a certain racial bias, a certain attitude toward the man of darker skin, which is not conducive to the best sort of relationship. It is not conducive to his getting along with a man of darker skin in the darker man's country. The Southerner's attitude of mind may be quite proper in the South, where the racial problem is different, but when you place him in the dark man's country where he must work for the dark man's benefit, he is rather out of place, and I think that some consideration might be given to that phase of selecting official personnel over there. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY COLONEL C. D. WILLCOX, U. S. A.

I am very much interested in some of the remarks made by this gentleman, and I will say, although that fact is not interesting, that I am a southerner myself and that I have never hesitated to mingle with the Filipinos socially, or to visit their houses; I have eaten at their tables and had them at mine, and although I am a Southerner and have the southern prejudices on the subject of the Negro, coupled, however, with a very friendly feeling for him, I have never felt any prejudice of that sort toward the Filipinos, and I know that a great many Southerners share my sentiments. I do not think it is fair to say that the many people who went to the Philippine Islands from the South, should not have been sent there because they came from below a certain degree of latitude.

Again, this gentleman has spoken of Dr. Heiser resigning; that is true, he did resign, but it is also true that the Philippine Assembly produced a series of indictments against him that long, (indicating an arm's length) accusing him of every offense he could possibly commit under his office; and it is a fact that if you hold an office and the legislature of the country that pays you, produces an indictment against you and says you ought to be driven out, you don't care for the job very much after that—not as much as you did before. (Applause.)

MR. HILLES: It is far from my purpose to provoke any controversial discussion, but I would like to add to what I said before a thought as to the hopefulness of one feature there. I had hoped to meet here Dr. Walter H. Dade, Director of the Bilibid Prison at Manila, perhaps the largest in the world. He writes me of the changes effected there, and I think we may to a great extent look to Bilibid Prison as a model for the handling of penal institutions in this country. I think it was the Philippine Assembly last year that granted an act permitting the convicts in Bilibid Prison to share to some extent, in the results of their labor, such a policy as has been inaugurated in the most progressive penal institutions of the United States. Dr. Dade also writes me in the matter of control of some of the minor cases, misdemeanors against the prison discipline, that last year over 2,000 such cases were decided by the men themselves, so they are given a measure of self-government in Bilibid as in Sing Sing and other penal institutions of which we hear so encouragingly today. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Reference has been made by several speakers to the possibly unfortunate use of the term "dependent peoples" in the title of the Conference. I want to ask Mr. Smiley to say a word about that.

MR. SMILEY: Since the Conference decided to discuss the status of other peoples than the Indian in whom we had an interest, there has been almost a constant discussion, not only among ourselves but especially from some of our friends in Porto Rico, about the term "dependent peoples." I am perfectly ready to admit that it is not in all respects a happy term. We have tried to find something which would better take its place, and so far we have been entirely unsuccessful. The status of the peoples included in our discussion is so different that it is not an easy matter to find any term which will apply fairly to them all. We had even come to the conclusion that we would drop the latter part of the title and go back to the old term, simply "Indian Conference," and then leave the rest to our imagination. There has recently been suggested one or two terms, "related peoples," or "extra territorial peoples," which will be given careful consideration. I think it would be well if members of the Conference who should happen to think of some term which would fitly express the idea which we have in mind, would write to us or speak to us and give the exact term which they think would better express what we wish to in the title of this Conference; I am sure I would be very glad to have help from any of you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Think it over; see if we cannot get a phrase that will express our spirit and purpose and at the same time not give offense to the people we really want to benefit.

Are there any announcements? If not this session of the Conference is adjourned.

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